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PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH,

AND CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF FRANCE.

VOLUME SIXTEENTH.

GLASGOW:

WILLIAM COLLINS, SOUTH FREDERICK ST.

LONDON: HAMILTON, ADAMS, & CO.

ON THE

CHRISTIAN AND ECONOMIC

POLITY OF A NATION,

MORE ESPECIALLY WITH REFERENCE TO ITS LARGE TOWNS.

BY

THOMAS CHALMERS, D.D. & LL.D.

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THEOLOGICAL

THE RIGHT CHRISTIAN AND CIVIC ECONOMY FOR A NATION,

WITH A MORE SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ITS

LARGE TOWNS.

CHAPTER XXII.

On certain prevalent Errors and Misconceptions, which are fostered by Economic Theories, and which are fitted to mislead the Legislature, in regard to Labour and the Labouring Classes.

It is not alone in the minds of the common people, that we have misunderstanding and prejudice to contend with; nor is their ignorance the only obstruction in the way of a right adjustment between masters on the one hand, and workmen on the other. We admit, that it might go far to effect a reconciliation between the two parties, if the latter could be rationalized into a just discernment of all that economics which had to do with Profit and Wages. But we are fully persuaded, that the former are nearly as destitute of the true principle on which the question hinges, and that, ere the reconciliation can be completed, they have both

much to learn, and much to unlearn. We even think, that, among our most influential classes, there is a deal of false imagination as to the real economic interests of the country; and which still restrains our legislators from that full march of liberality, on which they have lately broken forth, and made a progress that fills the sanguine friends of humanity with very high and bright anticipations. There is with all this, however, a certain remainder of fearfulness, in virtue of which they at times shrink back again, even from the proper advances which themselves had made on the career of amelioration. So that, in retracing their path, they, along with the errors into which they have fallen, do occasionally recal the real improvements upon which they had entered. We have no doubt that they are on the way of being speedily unfettered from the last drags and difficulties by which they are yet in some degree held; and that the soundest Economical System which has ever been promulgated by our philosophers in theory, will also be realized by our statesmen in practice. The tendency of our present rulers is all in this direction; although, even in spite of the great and glorious advance which they have made, it can still be perceived, that, even on the path which themselves have struck out, they walk with somewhat trembling and unconfirmed footstep. The truth seems to be, that they would proceed faster than the country will let them; and that they must for a period defer to the voice of a public, who, in light and liberality, are greatly behind themselves. We often hear of men of science, who, in their

speculations, but seldom of men of office, who, in their acts or in their actings, outrun the spirit o the age. Now, this is the rare and honourable exhibition by which our rulers are at present signalized. They are fast freeing our mercantile code of its many errors, yet still in such a way as to evince that there is still a leaven of the mercantile system, either in their own spirits, or in the spirits of those who have ascendancy over them. We can imagine that we can perceive no slight tokens of this, in their whole treatment of the question of combinations ; and if to rectify the notions of workmen, we hold it desirable that the light of economic science should be let down to the very basis of society, it is not because we conceive that to be a pure and a perfect light which shines in its upper places. There may not be the utter darkness of the lower region. But there is often, at least, a glare of false speculation, which, if it do not altogether blind, is sure to bewilder those who are exposed to it ; so that, even among the guides and legislators of the community, there may be notions which admit of being rectified.

Now, one of the most inveterate of these we hold to be that by which, not only the conduct of parliament, but almost our whole authorship in political economy, is infected. If, before illustrating what it is by examples, we were required briefly to express this erroneous notion in language of the utmost generality, we should say, that it proceeded on a preference of the means to the end. Capital and commerce, and the various branches of both, which are distinguished by so many interests, such

as the shipping interest, and the manufacturing interest, and the trading interest; these supply so many high-sounding terms, by which the public understanding has been juggled into a false estimate of the magnitude of things. The truth is, that this whole apparatus of commerce and of capital is but of instrumental subserviency towards an ultimate and a terminating object; and it is not surely by casting one's eye along the steps of a process, but it is by settling our regards on the result of it, that the good of the whole is to be perceived. It has all the self-evidence of a truism, and yet is strangely overlooked both in economic reasonings and in economic regulations, that the worth of that *by* which a thing is done, is all derived from the worth of that *for* which the thing is done. It is *by* several hundred ships that coals are carried from Newcastle to London—and it is *for* the comfort and utility of good fires to the families there that they are so carried; and we affirm the latter to have the precedency, in consideration and importance, over the former. Now what we complain of is, that this is lost sight of both by philosophers and by statesmen; by the one in the construction of their theories, by the other in the business of their practical administration. The shipping interest of the Tyne is an object of greater moment and magnificence in their eyes, than the cheapness or the abundance of fuel in the metropolis. It is forgotten that the end is greater than the means; and although Smith has formally asserted that the end of all production is consumption, yet even he, in the

course of his argument, seems often to have forgotten this maxim, in a certain value, *per se*, which he attaches to trade and manufactures. Now, it ought ever to be kept in mind, that trade and manufactures have all their worth and significancy as subservient to, and none whatever as apart from, the enjoyment of consumers. The worth of commerce lies wholly in the *terminus ad quem*, and not in the *iter per quod*.

Now, both by politicians and political economists, this principle is traversed. It is in the working up of the commodity, in the buying of it, and selling of it, and transporting of it, in the succession of various movements and exchanges which it is made to undergo, in that whole series of transactions through which it passes from him who first put forth his hand upon its raw material, to him who made the final purchase of it, so that it ceased to be an article of merchandise any more —it is in these various steps which properly belong to the manufacture of the commodity, or to the merchandise thereof, that the whole prosperity of our land is conceived essentially to lie. And yet they are of no farther signification, than as constituting a mere train or progression of stepping stones to the very last or concluding act of the whole process, even that by which the consumer turns his purchased commodity to use or to enjoyment. This is the *terminus ad quem*, for which it was conveyed through the busy hands of a factory, and had to travel from one shop, and from one market to another, till it reached its final destination. Without this destination, all the

preceding industry which had been expended on its preparation and conveyance, is but laborious idleness. And yet this last consequence, for which the whole apparatus was set a-going, is felt to be of no consequence. They lose sight of an article of trade on the moment that it enters the house of the consumer, because then all the game of trading and trafficking with it is over. Its benefit there, is deemed of little account by those who expatiate most on the blessings of commerce. They in fact regard commerce as a thing set up for the good of producers, and not of consumers. They look to the play of its mechanism, and not to that landing place, whither its products are ultimately carried, and where the whole purpose of commerce is fulfilled, by there directly ministering to the comfort and accommodation of man. The process, and not the end of the process, is all that is in view of the disciples of the mercantile system; and even they who have obtained emancipation from many of its errors, can occasionally manifest to what amount the residuum of its spirit still adheres to them.

For by combinations, or by any other cause, let there be a suspension in some quarter of the coal trade. It is on the stoppage in some anterior part of the process, and not on the suffering that is felt at the place where the process terminates, that a genuine disciple of the mercantile system will look. And even still, what is the spectacle which on such an occasion calls forth the chief notice and sympathy of parliament? Not the loss or inconvenience that is sustained from the

higher price of coals by the families of London. But what engrosses them most, is the spectacle of commerce at a stand, of vessels laid up, of capital lying idle, of a certain portion of the national industry being suspended, and the property of merchants and owners melting away, because not alimented by the wonted returns of profit. This carries in it to their eye, a far more louring aspect on the prosperity of the country, than all the abridgment which may have taken place in the fuel, and so in the household comfort of families. This last is regarded only as a private inconvenience, but the other as a public loss. There is a strange perversion of the judgment, certainly, in thus counting the means to be more valuable than the end; and hence grieving far more because of a diminution in the work of commerce, than because of a diminution in the only thing that commerce works for. But such is the nearly universal delusion of the country—a delusion in which parliament fully shares, as is enough manifest, in that they feel a higher price, or a greater privation of coal in London to be a bagatelle, when compared with the calamity which hangs over the shipping interest in the Tyne.

To estimate the mischiefs of this suspended trade, we observe no examinations of the inconvenience sustained by consumers, but only of the loss sustained by producers. That is the quarter where the mighty evil is apprehended to lie. The distress, or the destitution of families from the want of coal, is not inquired into. It is only the derangement that has come upon capital, and upon

the plans of capitalists from the want of the coal trade. In virtue of certain interruptions which this trade has been made to suffer, there is a limited supply of coal in the metropolis. That is the essential evil—and one should think that the way to ascertain its dimensions, would have been to call witnesses from the various ranks of citizenship there, as to the amount and soreness of the consequent privation. The natural investigation would have been into the degrees of hardship and of additional expense that it laid upon the humbler classes; and, perhaps, whether it had the effect of compelling any families to apply for aid from the parish. Had the Committee on the Combination Laws taken this direction, we should have had the fathers of poor families in London, and perhaps the overseers of its parishes, or managers of its work-houses, brought under a close questionary process. It was no doubt natural to look to the seat of that which was the origin of the mischief, with a view to the application of a remedy; and this may in part explain the peculiarity to which we are now adverting. But it is by no means the whole explanation. For, in truth, upon these topics our most enlightened men are exceedingly apt to look the wrong way; to seek for information, not from the place where commerce lands her commodities, but from the place where commerce plies her machinery for the carriage and preparation of them. Any distress in the former place is not half so formidable to their imaginations, as a derangement in the latter place. Commerce, in truth, is regarded as an end, and not as

an instrument. The wants of consumers are not in all their thoughts. The great engrossment is about the producers—the stoppage that has taken place in the processes of trade and manufactures —the withdrawment or transportation of capital— the disappearance, one after another, of the branches of our national industry.

It is further instructing to perceive by what kind of mischief a committee on mercantile affairs would be most impressed, when offered to their notice on the examination of witnesses. One evil of a suspended coal trade, is the privation, or the additional expense which it would lay on private families. But let this further evil be made out, that some manufactories, such as iron works in the neighbourhood, were in danger of being suspended. This second would be felt as the heavier calamity of the two. The evil to ultimate consumers of abridging their fuel, would be regarded as nothing when compared with the evil to producers of abridging or stopping the processes of their manufactory. And yet these processes, like all others in trade, are but processes of subserviency to the wants of consumers. Trace the progress of the evil in this ramification a little farther, and its whole amount is a privation, or a higher price to families, not of the fuel which upholds the fire, but of the grate which contains it, or the fire-irons which stir it, or the pots and pans which are laid upon it. Now, a legislature would never busy itself with this last consideration. It is only when the evil is in prospect or menace, through an interruption of the works, that it appears to be of

national magnitude. When the evil has reached its consummation in the inconvenience to which customers are subjected, from a more limited supply of the things which are wrought, the whole of its national importance is dissipated.

The delusion is still more glaring when the article of trade is less essential to the comfort of families. Among many others who were examined on the effects of combination, there were manufacturers of shawls. There is enough of magnitude to fill the imagination in the shipping interest. But one can scarcely uphold in his mind any associations of greatness, or of public importance, with the shawl-making interest. Still it is a branch of fancy-work; and that again a branch of the general manufactures of the country. So that the making of shawls, and the making of toilinette waistcoats, and the making even of most frivolous toys, all merge into, and serve to swell the account of what in sound, and in appearance, at least, is sufficiently imposing—the manufacturing interest. At all events there are a good many hundred workmen employed in the fabrication of shawls; and if they choose to strike, shawls will cease for a time to be multiplied. Now, our simple position is, that the real good of these shawls lies in the wearing of them, and not in the weaving of them. The whole "*cui bono?*" of this manufacture, lies in the gratification of the taste and fancy of the wearers; and the counterpart evil to this, from the suspension of the manufacture, is the vexation or disappointment which they must feel in not meeting with their wonted supply.

But were either the one seen to be the whole good, or the other seen to be the whole evil, the legislature would most certainly never interpose at all in the matter; and that they actually do interpose, proceeds from their imagination of a good in this and in all other manufactures, distinct from the subservience of their products to the use or the enjoyment of customers. There were something grotesque and ridiculous in an assembly of senators, sitting in grave deliberation on the comfort of shawls, or the tastefulness of fancy waistcoats; and, therefore, when they do enter upon this subject, they never bestow one thought upon the good which the supply of these brings to the consumers: it is altogether upon the good which the making of these brings to the producers. They figure some sort of inherent virtue in trade, that is separate from and independent of the enjoyment which lies in the use of its commodities. They have elevated commerce from the state of a handmaid, to being the very goddess of their idolatry; and would anticipate something far more tremendous to the country, from the destruction of the shawl-making interest, than a negation to the country of shawls.

But it will be said, that the worth of a manufacture is not to be measured by the mere worth of the articles which are thrown off by it. It is contended, that there is something more of importance in it than this; and really something more is necessary to be made out, in order to vindicate the high place to which it has been exalted in the imagination of many a statesman, and

the system of many an economist. For ourselves, we are not aware of one other earthly contribution which a shawl-maker renders to the interest of his country, than simply his shawls; or a stocking-maker, than just stockings; or a coach-maker, than coaches. These are the respective parts which they perform; *and they are their whole parts.* More has been ascribed to them; and though neither the glory nor the strength of a nation lies in its shawls, its stockings, or its coaches; yet both its glory and its strength have been conceived, as somehow bound up with the occupations of the men who are employed in making them. It is this which constitutes another and most inveterate of our delusions, that a manufacture does more for the public and political importance of the state, than simply furnish its own commodities for the gratification and use of the individuals who compose it. A false halo has thus been thrown around commerce; and not, we believe, till it be wholly dissipated, will legislators cease to meddle with that which they had far better let alone.

And herein it is that the delusion appears to lie. It is agreed, on all hands, that a manufacture does thus much for a country. It furnishes its own products for the accommodation of those who live in it. But, over and above these products, it is further conceived, that it calls into being the returns which it obtains for them. To the articles which it works off, and by which we would measure its whole importance to the community, there are superadded the articles which are gotten in exchange for them; and it is precisely this super-

addition, which gives to manufactures all the exaggerated importance that has been ascribed to them. In rating the worth of any one manufacture, we should make account of nothing more, than simply the goods which it issues forth upon society. But, on their way thitherward, they have to pass through a market, and undergo the operation of a sale, when a value is given for a value that has been received. Now these two values are generally blended together in the imagination of the observer, and he credits the manufacture with both; first with its own produce, and then with the price that has been given for it. It is out of this price that masters are enabled to live in splendour, and workmen to live in decent sufficiency. A thriving village is perhaps the result of it; or, however the dependent population may be arranged, there stands visibly associated with the manufacture, a flourishing groupe of cheerful and industrious families. The legislature would, in all probability, never let itself down to a deliberation, the sole object of which, was the due and regular supply, either of ladies with shawls, or of gentlemen with toilinette waistcoats. But that is no reason why it should not bestow its most anxious care, and give all the benefit of its wisdom to a matter that seems to involve in it the employment, and, along with the employment, the subsistence of many thousand members of the British commonwealth. It is neither in the shawls, nor yet in the waistcoats, where the national importance of the question is conceived to lie; but it is in the spectacle of so many human beings, whose

whole revenue and support are linked with the fabrication of them—a revenue that forms, it is imagined, an integral part of the wealth; and a support, without which we should lose an integral part of the population of the empire.

In this whole process, the distinction is lost sight of, between the two sides of every mercantile transaction, so as that the separate functions are not adverted to; first, of the manufacturer who makes the article, and, secondly, of the purchaser who uses it. There is positively nothing but the article that comes from the side of the manufacturer; and maintenance, or the power of acquiring it, comes altogether from the side of the purchaser. There might be some derangement upon the one side, in virtue of which, the article is no longer forthcoming; but this can never send across, upon the other side, a devouring blight on the maintenance that was in readiness there to be discharged, as usual, in the purchase of the article. It may so happen, that in virtue of suspended work, or of now exhausted material, the article in question has disappeared from the market, and is nowhere to be found. But the maintenance that went for the article is still in reserve, as entire in the amount, and as effective in the support and sufficiency which it can diffuse through families as before. It will neither be destroyed, nor yet will it be suffered to lie idle. It will go forth, if not in the purchase of the old article, at least of some others; the preparation of which, will draw to it as many hands as were before employed in the manufacture that now has vanished from the land. We do not deny, that

a temporary distress must be felt while this change in the distribution of the people is going on. Neither do we affirm, that the very individuals who have been discarded from that branch of industry which is now at an end, will all find a ready admittance, and as liberal a recompense as before, in such other branches as are sure to spring up or be extended. But we are sure that there is nought in the destruction of any one manufacture, which can at all impair the ability of those who want to purchase its commodities, and so to effuse both among masters and workmen, all the maintenance which they ever desired from their connexion with it. This maintenance will go forth upon as great a population as before, in return for some new services; not, perhaps, for shawls, but for something else in their place. And after a short season of inconveniences, and disquietudes, and boding alarms, we shall behold the spectacle of as many industrious families, as well upheld in the comforts of life as before.

There is really too much of virtue attributed to a manufacture, when it is figured, that it both gives employment to a people, and gives them maintenance also. It gives employment, but it does not give maintenance. The fruit of the employment is a marketable commodity, and the maintenance which is given in return for it, comes from some other quarter of society, than from the manufactory where the employment was carried on. Although the manufactory should come to a cessation, the same amount of subsistence for human beings will spring up in that quarter as before. Shawls

will cease to be produced; but that other produce, which wont to subsist the shawl-makers, will come forth as abundantly as ever. And they who have a power or a property, in the first instance, over that produce, will not cease to transfer it to others as before, merely because there are no more shawls to be purchased. They who go a-shopping will be at no loss to spend as largely as they wont; and if they cannot find shawls, they will find something else on which to expend the price of them. In so doing, they give a shift to the employments of the people. They do not support less of industry than before—they only impress a new direction upon it; so that, in place of the thousands of shawl-makers, we shall have as many thousands employed in the preparation of certain other articles of taste or convenience. With every fluctuation in the demand of customers, there will be a corresponding fluctuation in the direction of industry; but that, without ultimately affecting either the amount of work that is required, or the amount of wages which are paid for it. And, if the legislature would only weather the period of transition, with all its uncertainties and fears, they should at length find with what safety they might abstain from all interference: sure as it is to terminate in as great an abundance as ever, discharged on as great a population.

Our legislature would be less tremulously alive upon this subject, were the calamity of a suspended, or even an annihilated manufacture, reduced to its proper dimensions. It is only a shift and not a substraction. It is apprehended to be

the latter; and hence as prompt an alarm on the part of government, as if on the eve of having a portion of the British territory wrested away from us. Were it, on the other hand, perceived to be only the former, government would remain at quiet, amid the slight internal agitations that were caused by the disappearance of an old manufacture, and the substitution of a new one as great in its room. It would acquiesce in the new distribution of its family, could it only be satisfied, that it was to remain as great and as prosperous a family as before; and that, after the transition had been undergone, not one fraction of its own strength or importance had forsaken it.

These statements, though general, have a direct application upon the present question. When a manufacture stops, an alarm is felt for the stability of the manufacturing interest; and because, through the mistiness of those indistinct apprehensions which we have endeavoured to expose, the importance of this interest has been most unduly magnified, a consequent alarm is felt for the strength and the vital prosperity of our nation. It would mitigate the alarm, could the precise nature of the mischief be clearly understood—even that all which the nation loses, is its wonted supply of those goods which the manufactory issued, and that, at the very worst, it has no other character than that of an inconvenience to families, more or less tolerable, according to the kind of that commodity whose fabrication has for a time been suspended. It loses for a season the employment of the men who have struck, or rather, the fruits of

their employment. But it has not lost the maintenance of the men. If consumers cannot obtain their wonted gratifications, the price of them remains in their pockets; and the maintenance which this price, in the hands of workmen and their families, would have called forth, remains in the storehouses of the nation. The country sustains no other suffering than that which we have mentioned. It is as full of power for the subsistence of men, and has within its limits the same rewards and encouragements by which to stimulate their industry, as before. If the public can afford to want the products of their industry, there are none who seriously suffer but the foolish men themselves who choose to be idle for a little, and so will not take that support and nourishment which the country has to give them, and which lies in reserve, to be discharged again upon them, when they return to their wonted occupation. And even though they should, in hard and heroic obstinacy, resolve rather to starve than to surrender, the nation will survive in as great vigour as before, the loss both of them and of their services. That aliment which they refused, will still continue to be produced and to be poured forth in as great abundance from its granaries as ever. And still, after the little hour of effervescence and of fear, which their discontents may have occasioned, will the old spectacle be restored, of an industrious population as great, and a maintenance as liberal, spread abroad among all its families.

In reference to all those manufactures where combination is practicable, Nature has given such

superiority to the purchasers over the producers, that, for the protection of the former from the latter, it seems quite unnecessary for law to interfere. In agriculture, there is less danger to be apprehended of a strike among the labourers, than even of a combination among the capitalists; and it will in general be found, that, when a conspiracy among workmen for higher wages can be most easily formed and supported on the one side, then the article wrought can be most easily dispensed with on the other. It is not difficult to perceive which of the two parties has the advantage in this contest, and whether the public, on the one hand, can hold longer out with the want of the manufactured commodity, or the workmen with the want of their maintenance. There are forces in operation, and which are enough of themselves to decide this question against the labourers. It is a pity that government should step forward with a show of hostility, and anticipate the result. The terrors of a poverty that is growing apace, and looking more ghastly by every day of their perseverance in a state of idleness; at length, their own sensations of hunger, and the cries of their famishing children, —these are the guarantees of a sure and speedy termination to the warfare. The wisdom of government is forbearance. Save for the interests of obvious and substantial justice, they should leave trade to the unfettered play of its own mechanism; and, secure in the consciousness that the basis of our nation's prosperity is more deeply founded than to be within the reach of its fluctuations, they should cease to feel as an interested party, and

leave the determination of this controversy between the manufacturers and customers, to those who are immediately concerned.

On this question, then, we should feel less inclined to defer to the alarm of capitalists, than to the alarm of their customers—of those who fabricate, or who deal in any of the articles of trade, than of those who consume them. One can imagine of the operatives who make the shoes, that they might cease from work, and hold out so long as to bring a real inconvenience upon all who wear them. And the more that the article approaches to a necessary of life, the greater is the inconveniency that might be felt; as if, for example, a whole city population were subjected, from such a cause, to an artificial scarcity of coals. This alarm, on the part of the purchasers or the users of a commodity, is altogether distinct from the alarm of its manufacturers or venders, and is therefore entitled to a distinct consideration.

In reference, then, to those articles which are not of prime necessity, it will at once be perceived, how unequal the conflict is between the maker and the consumer. The former depend upon the latter for their whole income; and, so soon as by the cessation of their work any accumulated capital has been melted away, this dependence becomes urgent and immediate; and they can hold out no longer in the want of all subsistence for themselves and their families. Whereas the latter depend on the former, only for the product of their industry, which, by the supposition, not being indispensable to the support of human life, can for any indefinite

season be dispensed with. The workmen, for example, of a toy manufacture, could never starve the public into a compliance with their terms, but would themselves be starved in time out of all their refractoriness, by a public resolved against the extravagance of their demands. This applies more or less to every species of work, when the thing wrought did not essentially enter into the maintenance of those who purchased it. They can keep aloof from the purchase, whenever they feel the price to be exorbitant. They who purchase have a clear superiority over those who prepare the article. The former can want the article. The latter cannot long want the employment, for their employment is to them the vehicle of all the necessaries of life which are brought to their doors.

Even in regard to many of the more necessary trades, the determination of customers not to pay more than a certain price, can far outlast the determination of the workmen not to work for less than a certain wage. Let the instance be again taken from shoes, and a competition of this kind be imagined between those who make shoes, and those who wear them; a competition, it will be observed, between the single want of one party, and that not for a first, but a second necessary of life, and all the wants of the other party for all the articles whatever of human comfort and subsistence. Even a single pair, with all its capacities of being patched and prolonged, though by household hands, for months together, could give enough of advantage in this very unequal contest; and still more, if there was aught like the possession

of a decent stock: an expedient, by the way, whereby the wealthier classes might arm themselves, in all time coming, against all that appears most frightful in this bugbear of combination. By enlarging somewhat their various stocks of consumption—by means of an additional outlay on all their present stores, whether in the cellars, or the wardrobe, or the outhouses, they strengthen and prepare themselves for any future warfare of this kind. It will be found, that by this simple arrangement, an arrangement, too, which naturally follows in the train of advancing wealth, there is raised an effectual defence against that indefinite power, wherewith it may be dreaded that a growing capital would invest the working classes of our land. It would reduce itself to a contest of endurance between one species of accumulation and another; and it is not difficult to estimate with which of the parties the inducement would be strongest to terminate the contest—whether with the workmen, from whom every day of idleness would take away a portion of their general means, and so make them poorer than before, or with the customers, who, in the season of some outstanding trade, were only becoming more bare and destitute in some one article of human enjoyment. We feel, indeed, as if it were a vain expenditure of argument, to reason at all upon any such distant anticipation. But we deem it of the utmost practical importance, that legislators should feel a greater confidence than they are often inclined to do, in its own proper workings of the mechanism of human society; and that when they breed over the apprehended

mischiefs of a strike among tailors, or masons, or house-carpenters, they would bethink themselves of the natural correctives which are already provided against it, in the very state and composition of the body politic. It should be enough to lull their disquietude, that it is far easier for the public at large to put up for months with such clothes, or houses, or furniture as they have, than it were for the operatives in these branches of industry, to put up for the same time with an utter suspension of all revenue.

And it is comfortable, as one goes in detail over the various articles which enter into the maintenance of a family, to perceive that those which are most indispensable are also most beyond the reach of being rendered artificially dear by means of combinations. Of those articles to the fabrication of which a long apprenticeship is necessary, and for the making of which, therefore, in the event of a strike, we cannot draw on the general population, there are many which have such a durability in themselves as will enable their possessors to stand out any season of combination that shall be at all practicable for the workmen. This applies particularly to furniture and houses, the customers in which cannot be reduced to a total destitution of them so soon as the workmen would be reduced to a total destitution of the necessaries of life. There are other workmanships, which, though abandoned by the regular operatives, can be served in such a way by domestic industry, or by more general labourers, as must at least hasten the breaking up of a combination. It is so with the

mending, and even making, of all sorts of apparel; and as to that most important commodity, fuel, we have recent and most satisfactory experience, for the facility wherewith the transition can be made, by people drawn at random from other branches of industry to that of working in a coal mine. And then, as to the very first of human necessaries, as to the supply of food, or agricultural produce, there is nought more palpable than the readiness wherewith men of any, or of all works, can be turned to field labour. There is less, we are sure, to be apprehended from a strike of ploughmen than of any other class of operatives whatever. For, besides the ease wherewith they could be replaced, there is the difficulty wherewith they could be associated for any general or concerted plan of operation among themselves. The same obstacles, which have been so well and forcibly represented by Dr Smith, against a combination of farmers for a rise in the price of grain, exist in much greater strength against a combination of farm servants for a rise in the price of country labour. There could be no common understanding established among men so spread as they are over the whole surface of the land. It is among congregated, and not among widely diffused workmen, that such plans are hatched and brought into any degree of maturity; so that, save for the one purpose of interposing against crime and violence, there seems no call upon government to meddle in the rivalry between workmen and their employers. In the case of luxuries, the public interest does not require any such interference; and, indeed, there is, in this

instance, a control on the part of customers over workmen, to which the whole of the adjustment between them might very safely be left. In the most important necessaries, there are other, and still more effective securities against the damage that might be apprehended from such combinations; and the security is most complete of all in the article of food, that prime and vital necessary which is the most indispensable of all.

But there is another aspect of mischief in these combinations that is apt to alarm our legislature. In the suspension of so many works, they not only apprehend the disappearance from our land of so much industry; they further apprehend the loss or the disappearance of so much capital. The one we hold to be a bugbear, insomuch as we deem the essential evil of the stoppage to lie in the cessation, for a time, of the products of industry, and never in the cessation of a power to maintain the producers. They choose to become outcasts for a season, from the benefits of this power; and so to bring upon themselves the hardships of an increasing poverty, and, at length, the sufferings of penury and starvation. On the side of the consumers, there is an inconvenience that can be borne with. On the side of the producers, there is a hard and ever-growing necessity, that must at length compel a surrender; and when the surrender is made by a return, on their part, to their wonted employments, they will just come back again to the fountains of sustenance which they had forsaken, and find them as generous and abundant as

before. To the one party there has been a stagnation of their wonted enjoyments. To the other, there has been a period of severe but salutary discipline, which we should like to see fully accomplished; and without interference, if possible, by the hand of authority. We think that labourers would come forth of the trial, wiser and better than before; and that after having made full proof of their own favourite expedient, and found its inefficacy, they would be far more effectually schooled into a state of quiescence, than by all the terrors of legislation. The petty fermentations which are now in progress over the empire, will never amount to a storm that shall overthrow the fabric of its economic prosperity; but will rather demonstrate the stability of that basis upon which it is reared. The experience that should be earned in this way, would put a most impressive mockery on the dark conjurations of many philosophers and many statesmen.

But the other we hold to be a bugbear also. We have just as little to apprehend for the destruction of a nation's capital from these combinations, as for the ultimate disappearance or diminution of a nation's industry. The one delusive fear, however, is fully as inveterate as the other; and, accordingly, in the Report by the Select Committee on the Combination Laws, we find a strongly expressed alarm, lest "capital be withdrawn, or transported;" and so, lest "the source of every branch of our industry should gradually be cut off, and the whole labouring population of the country consigned to the distress and misery, which it is

the tendency of the ill-advised combinations, in which so great a portion of it is implicated, rapidly and inevitably to produce."

This introduction of capital into the argument, suggests a new topic of alarm. It serves to complicate, and so to cast an obscurity over the whole subject. We know how closely associated fear is with indistinct vision; and in as far as the import and the precise function of capital are dimly apprehended, in so far is the mind liable to dread and to disturbance, from the imagination of any hazard to which it may be exposed. Were the darkness that hangs over this quarter of economic speculation dispersed, these spectres would fly away along with it. It is the mist that lies spread over certain departments of political science, which so magnifies the terrors of our political alarmists, and this by distorting to their vision the real shape and magnitude of things. On no subject has this been more signally manifested than on that of capital; and we even think that the views here of our most celebrated economists, have a tendency to nurture a false alarm rather than to appease it.

One thing is obvious, that after capital is formed, it is the lure of a profit which draws it to any employment; and it is the continuance of that profit which detains it there. But this profit is just an ingredient of the price that is rendered for those commodities, on the preparation of which for the market, the capital is vested. The profit of the master is just as resolvable into an antecedent ability on the part of his customers, as are the wages of his workmen. The one channel through

which the wealth of these customers found its way, carrying both to labourers their remuneration, and to capitalists their gain—this channel may be obstructed for a season; but it is one thing to shift the conveyance of wealth, and altogether another thing to annihilate it. The price that wont to be given by a family for shawls, if shawls are no longer to be had, is in reserve for some other article of expenditure; and in the purchase of that article, it will pass onward, and contribute as liberally to profit, and as liberally to wages as before. We are quite aware of the temporary inconvenience which attends every change in the direction either of capital or industry. But we are not to confound this evil with that of a total disappearance, and so a permanent diminution either of the one or other in our land. So long as the agriculture is as productive, and so the first necessaries of life are as abundant as before, capital will be as fully replaced, and labourers as abundantly recompensed as before. The fund for both is in every way as efficient—even that fund, which consisting as it does of the indispensable aliment of human life, is both that which calls a population into being, and impresses any direction that the holders of it will upon their industry. If this great primary source flow with the same copiousness, then the wealth of its holders is of the same force, both to replace stock, and to remunerate labour. The tide of it may be diverted, but neither the amount nor the strength of it is taken away; and when either the suspension of any manufacture is ended, or the shift from it to another is made out, we behold as

flourishing a merchandise, both for masters and workmen, as ever.

We are aware, that what we count a delusion on the subject of capital, has been very much fostered by the speculations of Dr Adam Smith, who every where speaks of capital as the fruit of a laborious parsimony; and who imagines, that if by any cause a portion is taken away from the trading capital of our nation, a new course of pains-taking accumulation must be entered upon, till in a series of years, perhaps, we recover that fulness from which we had been reduced. Still he regards the departure of that capital, which has now to be replaced by the strenuous economy of our more industrious and sober-minded citizens, as a permanent loss to the nation; for, had it remained with us, we might still have had the benefit of those savings by which it has been made up, and so we might have had two capitals instead of one. It is this which in his eye constitutes the chief evil of our national debt, by which he conceives that so much of capital has been absorbed, and for ever lost to the nation. He calculates how much richer the country would have been, with a sum of so many millions still performing the functions of a capital; and in that capacity dispensing such an amount of revenue to its owners, and of subsistence to the people whose revenue was upheld by it. It is not to be wondered at, then, if the disciples of this great economist—the habitual and unquestioning followers in the train of such a speculation as this, should read the approaching downfal of a nation in the disappearance, by successive portions

of its mercantile capital. Those enlightened ministers who proceed so fearlessly on his whole doctrine of free trade, do no more than catch the alarm of their master; when, associating with the combinations of workmen the withdrawment from the country of one branch of capital after another, they anticipate as the still gloomier consequence, "that the source of every branch of our industry will gradually be cut off; and the whole labouring population of the country be consigned to distress and misery."

We hold that there is much of exaggeration in these forebodings; but to demonstrate our views of the subject, we shall have recourse to examples. Let a capitalist, with ten thousand pounds, have his money all vested in some of the simpler manufactures, as that of bricks. We specify this, as being one of those that require almost no fixed capital, and that can chiefly be carried on by means of a circulating one. The money thus laid out is repaid to him with a profit; so that, at the end of the year, he may find himself in possession of eleven thousand pounds; of which he may appropriate one thousand as revenue to his personal or family uses, and embark the ten thousand in his business, as before. Or, instead of this, we might conceive him, at this point, to be suddenly transformed into a spendthrift, that greatest enemy, as he is represented by Dr Smith, of the public interest. He may be seized by a fit of extravagance, and squander the whole of his eleven thousand pounds in the course of the ensuing twelvemonth. By this proceeding, there is certainly so much of capital effaced

from the country. An integral portion of that capital which was vested in the employment of brick-making, is now withdrawn from it. A fund, out of which a certain population obtained the wages of their industry, and a certain addition was made to the annual produce of the labour of the country, has now been dissipated. The prevalent conception is, that the country is thrown permanently aback by such an event; and that, though it should recover the distance which it has lost, it is by means of a force of parsimony, which, had there been no loss to repair, would have carried the country permanently forward. Now, we think it easy to demonstrate, that the deficiency could be made up in another way; and that, without any greater parsimony on the part of other brick-makers, or without any influx of capital to this manufacture from without. We hold, that ere a single year pass by, the capital embarked upon this business will regain its former extent, and so be of avail to maintain as liberally the same number of labourers, who shall work off the same produce as before.

To make this palpable, let us imagine that there has been withdrawn for a year from the business of brick-making, some sensible proportion, as one-tenth of the capital that had been vested in it. There are two ways in which this deficiency may be made up; and in one or other, or both these ways, the certainty is, that it will be so made up in the course of a twelvemonth. By the disappearance of this portion of capital, there are so many men thrown loose from employment. The same master can no longer hire them; for the fund out

of which he paid their wages is no longer in existence. They will, therefore, go in quest of other masters; and we may first conceive that they offer themselves to those in the same trade. This would be the natural direction for them to take; and in which case, we should behold the competition of workmen for employment from a smaller capital than can well afford to maintain them. The capital engaged in brick-making has been reduced to nine-tenths of what it was; and on this diminished capital, the discarded workmen, to the amount of one-tenth of the whole number, are seeking for admittance. A general reduction of wages must ensue; and, although it is not necessary to our argument, yet, in point of truth, this reduction would greatly exceed the fraction by which the capital has declined. In other words, the remaining masters would be able, and more than able, to enlist into their service the same number of labourers as were employed in the preceding year; and upon this capital, though diminished to nine-tenths of what it was, the same quantity of bricks is still brought to market. But on the supply being the same, and the demand the same, (and there has nothing happened which should lessen the demand,) the price of this article will continue as before. In other words, the masters of the present year have as large an aggregate return upon their reduced capital, that the masters of the former year had upon their full capital. If ten thousand pounds be taken from one-tenth of the whole capital that went to be engaged in the business of brick-making, then the aggregate capital of the former year was

an hundred thousand, and the aggregate return, by our hypothesis, of the profit, must have been an hundred and ten thousand pounds. But this return, consisting, as it does, of the whole market-price of the bricks, is just as great in the second year as the first. The same number of men is employed on reduced wages. The same quantity of bricks is wrought off, and the same prices given for them. There comes in the same sum of a hundred and ten thousand pounds as before; and the remaining capitalists of ninety thousand pounds, have not only this old capital with the old profit replaced to them; but, over and above, they have returned into their hands both the capital and profit of him who had squandered away his property, and so was forced to retire from the business. It is thus that the capital which had disappeared re-appears; and that not by any strenuousness of accumulation on the part of the remaining capitalists, but by the operation of a simple economic law. By a force, as unfailing as that of a hydrostatic pressure, the capital, in a few months, rises to its wonted level; and becomes as commensurate to the business as before. And the men, after a year of depression, are now met again by a capital as large, and may be restored to wages as large.

The capital in this case is repaired at the expense of one year's reduced wage to the labourers. The deficiency that had been created costs them a year of sufferings and privations, ere it can be made up. This is a mischief, we admit; but it is the whole mischief; and, after the straitening or the hardship of a short season, leaves no further trace behind it.

It is a mistake, that the want of capital, occasioned by the extravagance of one master, must be atoned for by the parsimony of the rest. To them it is followed up by a season of prosperity; and the fruit of this prosperity is, that they become the possessors of that capital which their brother in the trade had dissipated. At all events, the capital is fully built up again; and by a process which demonstrates how little the care and the effort of a legislature are requisite to assist that law in the mechanism of trade, which ensures both its speedy and its complete restoration.

But, should this process fail, there is still another, by which a shrunk or a reduced capital is sure to be expanded to its former dimensions. The workmen who had been discarded from brick-making, in virtue of the fund which sustained them being dissipated, might not think of trying to obtain service from the remaining masters in the trade. They might seek about for other employments, and be merged into the general population. The remaining capitalists in the brick manufacture continue with their old labourers; and, having just the same number of men, and the same capital in their hands as before, they will employ them on the same wages. It is not, therefore, from the fall of wages, that they in this case will obtain any extension of their capital; but there is another source from which they will obtain it. They can only work up the same number of bricks which they did on the preceding year; or, in other words, from the disappearance of so much capital and industry in their line of trade, there is only nine-

tenths of the usual quantity brought to market, upon the whole. But there is nothing in the state of things which we now suppose, that can affect the rate of demand. Purchasers will go in quest of the same quantity as before, but will only meet with nine-tenths of the amount that would satisfy them. The effect of this is, a competition on the part of the customers, and a rise in the price of the article. It may not be easy to compute the proportion which the increase of price will bear to the short-coming of the supply. This will depend on the place which the article possesses in the scale of comforts or necessaries. We know that in the case of a first necessary, the rise of price would greatly exceed in proportion the deficiency of the supply; and that if grain were deficient by one-tenth from its usual abundance, there might be a rise of at least one-third in its usual price. Bricks would not rise in so high a proportion; but, it is likely, higher than by one-tenth. But let us only assign to it the average rise of one-tenth; or, in other words, that, although the supply falls short by one-tenth of what it used to be, yet that, in virtue of its augmented price, the same money is expended by all the customers that there used to be. We shall still have in this second case, the aggregate return of £110,000 to the remaining brickmasters. From this source, they will have, as before, their old capital and profit replaced to them, along with the capital and its profit, which the extravagance of their now retired colleague in the business had swept off from the employ. And all this, without any extraordinary forcing upon their

part. The want of capital is filled up by an influx from without, just as water flows in to fill up a vacuum. It is not they who work this effect; but the laws of the economic machine work it for them. They are the passive subjects of a prosperity which they have not caused. They have become, as before, the proprietors of that fortune which their companion had dissipated; and, just as before, in the course of a few months, their trade is reinstated in that full capital which had been previously embarked upon it. The supply of the article will again be enlarged with this enlargement of the capital; and on the price again falling to the average of profits in the country, this trade will settle down to its even and ordinary tenor.

In the first way of it, the capital is repaired at the expense of the labourers. In the second way of it, it is repaired at the expense of the consumers. Whether in either way exclusively, or (which will happen most frequently) by a mixture of them both, it will recover, and in a single year, the magnitude from which it had fallen. We deny not the evil which there is, in workmen, for even this short period, being compelled to subsist on inferior wages. Neither can we deny the evil which there is, in the country, for the same period, being compelled to put up with a scantier supply of those conveniences which are suited to it. All we affirm is, that these are the only evils; and that they are not such as entitle them to all that anxious care wherewith our legislature, in the brooding anticipation of evils still more dire and irremediable, professes to watch over the preservation and entire-

ness of our national capital. The due increase of capital may in fact, with all safety, be confided to the force of its own native and essential buoyancy. This certainly is not a consideration for which any obvious principle, either of freedom, or of natural justice, ought to be sacrificed; and just ranks among many other of those economic interests which governments are prone to meddle with, but which they had better let alone.

These processes for the almost immediate reproduction of extinguished capital, explain what, in the eyes of Dr Smith and others, is a seeming mystery*—the sufficiency, or rather the superabundance of capital, in spite of its great absorptions by the national debt. The sum of ten thousand pounds may have been withdrawn from the

* During the course even of the most expensive wars, the frugality and good conduct of individuals seem to have been able, by saving and accumulation, to repair all the breaches which the waste and extravagance of government had made in the general capital of the society. At the conclusion of the late war, the most expensive that Great Britain ever waged, her agriculture was as flourishing, her manufactories as numerous and as fully employed, and her commerce as extensive, as they had ever been before. The capital, therefore, which supported all those different branches of industry, must have been equal to what it had ever been before. Since the peace, agriculture has been still further improved; the rents of houses have risen in every town and village of the country, a proof of the increasing wealth and revenue of the people; and the annual amount of the greater part of the old taxes, of the principal branches of the excise and customs, in particular, has been continually increasing; an equally clear proof of an increasing consumption, and, consequently, of an increasing produce, which could alone support that consumption. Great Britain seems to support with ease, a burden, which, half a century ago, nobody believed her capable of supporting. Let us not, however, upon this account, rashly suppose that she is capable of supporting any burden; nor, even be too confident that she could support, without great distress, a burden a little greater than what has already been laid upon her."—*Smith's Wealth of Nations*, Book V. chap. iii.

brick manufacture, by the owner of it becoming a subscriber to a public loan; and, although one-tenth of the capital vested in this employment had been thus removed from it, there is nothing in this that will, immediately at least, lessen the demand of the country for bricks. Even when in the progress of taxation and of public debt, the revenue of private consumers comes to be shared in larger proportion by government and the creditors of the nation, the joint expenditure of all those parties among whom it is divided, will set the same amount of industry in motion, or give maintenance to as great a number of servants, as when more of that revenue was untouched by the impositions of the state, and permitted to remain in the hands of its original proprietors. At all events, the capital absorbed by the national debt is replaced by the same speedy operations with the capital that has been dissipated by extravagance. When a proportion of capital is thus withdrawn from any employment, either the wages of labour in that employment fall, by so many of the now disengaged workmen being unwilling to leave it, or the article which they prepare is manufactured in less quantity, and so rises in price. From one or other, or both of these sources, the capital is again dilated to its former bulk with the force and almost with the speed of elasticity, so as to be as commensurate as before to the demand which there is for its products, to the business which it is called upon to do. And, accordingly, it is quite palpable, that no sooner was capital withdrawn from the trade of the country to its funds, than its place has been filled up again;

that, in spite of its immense absorption, it has never fallen behind the business of the nation, but rather overcrowded and pressed upon it; and now that the absorption has ceased, instead of a season of accumulation being needed, in order to recruit, as from a process of exhaustion, the commerce of our land through all its branches, absolutely labours under a weight of capital greater than it well can bear. We see throughout no privation of capital but rather every symptom of a plethora. We nowhere see any employment, that wears even the remotest likelihood of a decent return, languishing, or at a stop for the want of capital; but every where we see capital at a loss for the want of employment. It now riots in sportive abundance among all sorts of chimerical enterprises and wild imaginations. And this exuberance of capital, after that it had been drawn upon to the extent of nearly a thousand millions, speaks most decisively to some vast creative and multiplying power by which it is sustained.

We are aware, that this view does not harmonize, nay, that it may be in jarring contrariety with the political economy of those whose habits of thought and of speculation have been moulded by the study of the most approved writers in the science. Certain it is, that Smith seems not to have adverted to this sudden re-ascent of capital, when a portion of it has been dissipated either by the extravagance of its individual holders, or by their having become creditors, in consequence of what he would term the extravagance of the nation. And yet the way in which it regains its former

magnitude, *per saltum*, and not by any slow or laborious process of accumulation, may be clearly educed from those elementary principles that have been so well illustrated by this great master. It is, in fact, the immediate consequence of that reaction which a variation of capital has upon profit. Let a part of the capital vested in any business, (the extent of which is measured by a demand exoteric to the business itself,) be lopped away, and then, both from a fall of wages in that business, and from a rise in the price of that article which it brings to market, but whose supply is lessened for a time, profits rise, and sink not to their former rate, till the capital resumes the extent from which it had been reduced. It is true that this process may be anticipated by a rush of capital from other quarters; and then, instead of a sensible oscillation in one branch of trade, there will be a slight oscillation in several, after which the old state both of capital and profits will be restored. But it is by an oscillation, and that a pretty quick one too, that the re-adjustment is made. And it has this property of an oscillation belonging to it, that, in proportion to the wideness of the deviation which has been made, is the regressive force that carries capital back again to its old state of quiescence. The more that capital is lessened in any trade, whose commodities are as largely and effectively demanded as before, the higher are the profits of it raised, and a greater impulse towards a recovery brought to bear upon it. It is thus that a nation's capital is fitted to survive the disturbance and the rough handling, from which many would appre-

hend its deadly overthrow; and that it re-attains the bulk from which it had been at any time contracted, with almost the speed of an explosion.

In Dr Smith's chapter on the Division of Stock, he describes what may be termed the great economic cycle which is performed by the annual produce of the land, and labour of the country. In the course of its revolution, this produce is distributed into three parts. One part goes to repair the fixed capital. Another part goes to replace the circulating capital; and a third part enters into the stock that is reserved for immediate consumption. It is certainly possible, that during the revolution of one year, the consumption may be unduly extended, so as that too much of the produce shall go to the third part, at the expense of the other two; and so both the fixed capital may be impaired, and the circulating capital may be diminished. This distinctly took place with our brick-master, when he forsook his business, and squandered on his own personal gratifications the ten thousand pounds, wherewith he wont to pay the annual wages of those in his employ; and it would have alike taken place, had he, instead of continuing in the trade, lent the money which was vested in it to government. In either case, it is that year transferred from the circulating capital to the stock of immediate consumption; being either consumed by himself in dissipation, or consumed by the servants of the state, the fruit of whose labour does not re-appear in the shape of a capital for the support of future labour, instead of being consumed by the servants of a manufactory,

the product of whose labour will command a price that is to purchase and maintain their labour for the year which is to come. All this undoubtedly takes place for that year—an increase of unproductive consumption—a diminution of capital. But in the very next revolution of the cycle, there is a restorative process which brings all right again, and that, whether with the now diminished capital, there is the same work performed for less wages, or less work for the same wages. In the one case, less of the annual produce than before is consumed on the personal and household expenses of labourers. In the other case, a smaller product is served out to customers than before, in return for that price by which dealers are enabled to recruit their capital: even that product, which, turned to immediate use by its purchasers, may be regarded as entering into the stock for their consumption. It is thus, that if, on the preceding revolution, too much of the produce may have passed from capital into consumption, on the next revolution, it will, by a sure economic law, vibrate back again from consumption into capital. In other words, there is a *vis medicatrix* in the economic machine itself, that should supersede much of that anxiety which legislators have expended on it; and in virtue of which it is, that much of their vigilance, and many of their labours are uncalled for. It is a want of confidence in this, that has wholly misplaced their care, and wholly misled their policy on many questions of commercial legislation. It is true, that on most of these topics, they have now ceased to be sensitive. But they are still sensitive on the

subject of capital; and, in their treatment of this very question of combinations, we can perceive the fearful imagination of certain irrevocable evils that will ensue, should either the functions of capital for a time be suspended, or a portion of capital itself be forced, in some season of difficulty and embarrassment, to take its departure away from our borders.

But before proceeding to this application, it might be right to allege something further, in illustration of our general views on the subject of capital. Although the waste created by an occasional extravagance, on the part of a few individuals, can thus easily be repaired, does it follow, that capital is indestructible by any amount or degree of extravagance whatever? Even though it has maintained itself against the most expensive wars, and borne up under the oppression of a large public debt, every shilling of which was abstracted from capital, are we thence to infer, that no process of abstraction can be set agoing, which might utterly exhaust it? Must there not be a limit to the possibility of capital thus surviving the adverse influences which are brought to bear upon it; and though, at a certain rate of bleeding, it may keep as strong and healthy as ever, may it not still be made to bleed so profusely, as gradually to consume away, and finally to expire?

But though we must admit, that there is a possible way of bringing on the decay, and at length the extinction of a nation's capital, it does not therefore follow, that there should be any practical alarm of such an event, as at all probable, or like

to be realized. There is just the same possibility, and might be the same alarm, on the subject of population. A war could be imagined of utter extermination in the country, or a pestilence which might carry off the last man of its inhabitants. But history has scarcely, if ever, given authentic record of such a war, or of such a pestilence; and, in point of experience, after almost all the actual visitations of this sort, we have witnessed in a few years the population so replenished, and made up again, as to have presented no voids or vacancies, as vestiges of the many thousands that had fallen. Such is the expansive force of population, that it has now ceased to be the care of our rulers, or rather their care has of late taken the opposite direction. There is no alarm lest the numbers should not keep up to the subsistence. The anxiety is, that they shall keep within the subsistence. At all events, the old policy upon this subject has been completely superseded. It is no longer conceived of population, that it needs the fostering hand of a legislature, for the purpose either of augmenting it, or of keeping it up to that amount which the country's good shall render expedient. We do not hear, as formerly, either of checks to emigration, or of fears lest disease should waste away the inhabitants of our land.—Neither would it now be one of the arguments against a new war, that it might permanently bring down the population of our empire, and so inflict an irrecoverable damage on this great element of national prosperity and strength. We are now familiarized to other views upon this subject, and

have become satisfied of the force and facility wherewith the population repairs the inroads that are made upon it. An unwonted mortality, caused by the ravages of an epidemic in one year, is followed by an unwonted number of births through two or three succeeding years. And so of the ravages in any country of our most desolating wars. And so also of the drain that is caused by a continued efflux of our people in the way of emigration. It would just create space for a larger influx in the way of births; and the influx would take place accordingly. It is conceivable, nay, possible, that there may be such an epidemic as shall wholly depopulate our land—and such a war as may turn it into a wilderness—and such an emigration as may leave it altogether empty: but practically, we do not stand in dread of any such; and so population has ceased to be one of those topics which influence the calculations or the measures of government, in the way that it used to do. It has now become one of those interests, for which those apprehensions are no longer felt, that wont to embarrass and mislead the policy of our rulers. It is found to have a *vis medicatrix* of its own, which requires no helping hand from any other quarter. There can be no question as to the individual suffering which disease, and war, and even emigration, bring in their train; but their effect on the general aggregate of a country's population is but slight even at the time, and can easily be recovered; and as it is with aggregates that a legislature have properly to do, they have begun to regard population as one of those self-regulat-

ing interests, from which it is far better that the regulations or encouragements of the state should be altogether withdrawn.

It is not so yet with capital. This is another of our economic interests, which has been the subject of kindred alarm, and we think fully as groundless as any of those which were felt aforetime on the subject of population. There is a like expansive force with both; in virtue of which, each in every given state of a country's progress, will be of that magnitude which the country can best sustain, and in all seasons will vary just at the rate which is best suited to the country's circumstances. A superabundance of food will afford room for large families by which to increase the population. A superabundance of business, created by the wants of this growing population, will afford large profits by which to increase the capital. There is no danger of either not keeping pace, and by its own proper forces, with the natural course of things; and it were just as unwise to force a capital upon a business whose profits could not afford an adequate return, as to force a population upon a country whose food could not afford an adequate subsistence. The food will certainly draw a population; and the population under a system of secure property and equitable laws, will as certainly draw a capital after it. The legislature have been led to regard the one, but not yet the other, in the light of a self-regulating interest. They are still haunted by the visions of a diminished, or of a departing capital. They do not yet apprehend, as in population, the sufficiency of those restora-

tive forces, by which it is not only kept up to that amount which is most for the advantage of the country, but by which, like population, it tends to an overplus. The views still, in fact, of our best economic writers, have led them to regard capital more as a leader, than as a follower in the train of national prosperity—more as the creator of that prosperity, than as itself the creation of it. They do not yet perceive, when a vacancy is formed in capital, how instantly there are forces set agoing by which it can be filled up again, as surely as a vacuum in nature by a collapse of the surrounding atmosphere. They fear, lest, with any inroad on capital, there shall be an inroad on all those economic interests which constitute the strength and fulness of a nation; and this fear still continues to embarrass a policy which has now been emancipated from the thraldom of many other fears. If this were to appear in any question at all, it was most natural that it should on a question between masters and workmen. There is no longer the apprehension now, lest our nation should suffer from the declining numbers of the latter; but there is the apprehension still, that it may suffer from the declining capital of the former. The one we hold to be as much a bugbear as the other; and in this controversy between the two parties, we should regret if government were to be misled by any bugbear, from the path of evenhanded justice between them.

They are now in full possession of the confidence, that population will soon recover itself from the horrors of war or of disease, or will maintain

itself under the copious and repeated draughts of a system of emigration. But so also will capital. The armies that, in passing over the face of a territory, should destroy one third of the capital of clothiers, will leave the soil in possession of all its capabilities; and, when the population does come up again to the level of these capabilities, will leave as many men to be clothed as well as fed, and willing to offer their services, or the price of them, for their wonted supply of the second, as well as the first necessary of life. But till the capital is repaired, the supply of cloth is short, and the profit of cloth-making is high; nor will it cease to be so, till the capital be fully built up again. Ere this is accomplished, the people are worse clothed, at the same expense, than they had used to be. This is the great hardship; but it is a temporary one. This is the way in which the loss has to be borne; but after the season of endurance is over, all the vestiges of the desolation are filled up, and no longer visible. The country emerges again into its old state, and recovers not merely the symptoms, but the stamina of a state as healthy and flourishing as before.

And there is a like analogy between population and capital, in respect of the waste which the former undergoes by disease. A prevalent physical distemper might seize upon households, and carry off many families. The consequent abundance of provisions will speedily bring forward other families in their room. A prevalent moral distemper, even that of ruinous extravagance, might seize upon merchants, and sweep away many of

our capitals. The consequent abundance of profits will construct other capitals, and raise up other capitalists, with a rapidity like that of magic. We question not the individual distress that is caused by the death of relatives, and the downfal of fortunes in families. But we are reasoning on the public calamity which, it is feared, might ensue from these events, in virtue either of a deficient population, or a deficient capital. The individual distress is a dire and dreadful reality. The public calamity is a mere imagination. There takes place an almost immediate adjustment to neutralise it; after which, the country is as full of people, and as full of capital, as ever.

But population has its preventive, as well as its positive checks. Instead of disease carrying off families from the stage of existence, families may be prevented from ever entering on the stage, by the celibacy of our present generation. It is true, that, if the celibacy were universal, the present generation would not be replaced by a succeeding one; but it is also true, that, though very many were to refrain from marriage, this would just make room for others to have families, who could not otherwise have been able to rear or to dispose of them; and with a very large proportion of celibacy, the population of the country may still be fully kept up to its means of subsistence. And, in like manner, there might be capitals, which come into the hands of thoughtless and extravagant men, who dissipate them in some rapid whirl of extravagance; and so they are never brought upon the field of business at all. This will just permit a

freer and more prosperous operation to the capitals that are brought forward, and ensure to them a safety and a profit which they could not else have realised; so as that, at any rate, a capital is upheld, commensurate to the need which there is for it, or to the business which it has to do. It is true, that, should all the owners of capitals either withdraw or withhold them from business, and choose to waste them utterly, capital would wholly disappear. Still it is also true, that capital does not suffer in extent, though there are many spendthrifts; just as the population does not suffer in extent, though there are many old bachelors.

Neither in population, nor yet in capital, are the preventive checks carried so far as to supersede the positive. It is because of the too frequent and too early marriages, that the field of competition for labour, and for its wages, is overcrowded; that families jostle out each other; that so many are outcasts from well-paid employment; that disease is engendered among them by spare living, and thins the overpeopled land of its numbers, by the premature deaths of infancy and childhood. To the mere student of political science, it may wear the air and the boldness of a paradox, when we affirm of capital, that too little goes into the stock for immediate consumption, and too much is adventured upon the field of commerce—that the competition for business, and for its profits, is greatly overcrowded—that traders jostle out each other, and so many become outcasts from safe or gainful merchandise—that what disease does with the redundant population, bankruptcy does with

the redundant capital of our land; relieving the overdone trade of its excess, and so reducing capital within those limits beyond which it cannot find any safe or profitable occupancy. This might appear wild and extravagant to a disciple of any of our reigning schools; and yet we describe nothing but the daily and familiar experience of practical men. Should the capital of a million suffice for the trade of Britain in the one article of pepper, and half a million more, at a loss for employment, and seeking about for a proper investiture, be adventurously thrust into the business by its side, it would be absorbed in losing speculations. And so of capital in all other trades. There is a limit beyond which, for the time being, it can find no return; just as there is a limit beyond which, for the time being, the population can find no subsistence. In both cases there is a check to further extension, and in neither case does the preventive check keep capital or population within their limits, but each presses upon them, and encounters the positive check by which the one is kept even with the food, and the other with the business of the world.

Legislators have now ceased from their alarm for the emigration of people. They have truly as little reason to be alarmed for the emigration of capital. To meet the first alarm, we may quote the authority of Dr Smith, when he says, that man, after all, is the most sluggish, and the least transportable of all commodities; so that it will be only a few out of the many who will renounce home, and all its charms, for the perils of a distant

and untried land. This is very true; but another security is, that although many were to go out from amongst us, their place would speedily be filled up again by the elastic force of population. To meet the second alarm, we may quote the authority of Ricardo, who speaks of the heavy disadvantages to which the vast majority of traders will submit in their own country, ere they can be tempted to transfer their operations to another. This also is true; but there is a farther security in the elastic force of capital,—the effect of its withdrawment from any business upon the profits of that business—the certainty wherewith, under this principle, it will speedily regain its greatness, and be as commensurate as before to the work which it had to do; so that, if we have nothing to fear from the egress of our country's population, we have just as little to fear from the egress of its capital.

At first sight, we perceive not the error which is involved in the regret of those who would calculate on a much greater population in this our day, had there been no wars in the last or in former generations, or who think that the census of our numbers would have yielded a much larger return, had the vaccine inoculation been discovered earlier. This is quite a process of reflection, that many an economist of the last century would have gone along with. And still the economist of our present century will both feel and utter a kindred regret on the subject of capital, as if there would have been more of trading capital in the land at this moment, had it not been for the expenditure

of so many wars, or the extravagance of so many spendthrifts. This is precisely the regret which Dr Smith indulges in; and it is quite evident, that he could never have anticipated such a fulness of capital, along with such a weight of public debt, as are both verified so strikingly at present. It is evident from his work, that he occasionally had bright glimpses of the true theory of population; and that had he entered on a distinct prosecution of this subject, he would soon have perceived by how speedy an operation it was, that all its gaps were repaired. There is likewise a speedy operation for filling up the gaps or deficiencies that either public or private expense effects upon capital; and we have as little reason for believing that it would have been greater now, had it not been for the dissipation of so much treasure in our wars, as that the population would have been greater now had it not been for the loss of so many lives in battle, or for the ravages of the small-pox.

From the description which Dr Smith has given of what we have ventured to term the great economic cycle, it will be seen how much the annual produce of the land and labour can do, even in the course of one revolution. It can replenish the circulating capital of the country, and it can keep in repair all its fixed capital; and, over and above this, it supplies the whole of the immediate consumption. If too much have been taken in any one year into the stock for immediate consumption, both an encroachment may have been made on the circulating capital, and the fixed capital may have fallen thereby into a certain state of disrepair;

and, altogether, the trading capital of the nation will, in some of its branches, be less effective than usual; and some commodities will become scarcer and dearer than before. We have already experienced how this causes the annual produce of next year to vibrate back again from the stock of immediate consumption into capital, so as to restore it to its old amount and efficiency. The same produce, out of which, in one revolution, all that capital which circulates is replaced, and all that capital which is fixed is upholden, can surely in one, or at most in a very few revolutions more, make up the fraction by which, through the extravagance of any one year, both those capitals have in some degree been diminished. This is done by the action of a diminished capital upon profits, which restores the capital as surely as the population is restored from any diminution which it may have sustained, by the action of that diminution upon wages.

There is much of palpable history which can only be accounted for by this regenerating power of capital, and without which principle many things can only be wondered at without being understood. Even in the hands of Smith, the buoyancy of our nation, under the weight of the national debt, was an unresolved mystery; and there is much in the state of other nations, which even our most approved systems of political economy are too meagre in experimental truth thoroughly to account for. The confident imagination of Mr Pitt, as to the impending ruin of France, because of her commerce being in a state

of stagnation, and her capital wasting away, or languishing for the want of productive employment, was the natural error of a devotee of the mercantile school, from the lessons of which we never can gather the explanation of that strong and youthful prosperity into which she so suddenly emerged. It belongs to the same class of phenomena, that Russia and Austria, and the other states of the continent, recruited so speedily from the desolations that passed over them, and that now, as healthy in their economic condition as ever, there is not one trace to be found in them of the footsteps of the destroyer. These facts are still gazed at by the politician, as so many anomalies; whereas they are but the confirmations of a general law. For let the agriculture of a country, that has just been delivered of its ruthless invaders, yield its wonted quantity of subsistence, and the high wages that are given to its surviving labourers will speedily bring on the families which shall replace its population; and the high profits that are given to its surviving traders shall as speedily replace its capital; and the country, indestructible as the phœnix, shall, in a few years, rise again out of the ruins of its overthrow, unto all the freshness and glory of its proudest days.

So that capital, like population, is one of those self-regulating interests, the care of which does not properly belong to a legislature. The fear lest it should depart from our kingdom by successive removals, is altogether chimerical. The very first portion that went abroad, if only large enough for the effect, would cause a larger profit at home,

which should act first by a detaining power on the capital that was left behind, and then, by an extending power, again to fill up the vacancy. It is not for government to concern itself about an interest which the laws of political economy have abundantly provided for. There may be a call upon its justice, when the rights of any one order of men are encroached upon by the aggression of another, but let not this be complicated with other objects, as on the occasion before us; nor let it imagine any call upon its wisdom or its authority for the protection of an economic interest, that is abundantly safe without its interference.

If, any where, a combination could force an indefinite addition to wages, we should regard that of the sailors in the Tyne, as, perhaps, one of the most formidable; not because of its effect on the shipping interest there, but because of its effect on the supply of coals in London. One might imagine the two parties, the sailors and shipmasters, to be most obstinately at a stand; and each resolved not to comply with the terms or propositions of the other. If the trade be, in consequence, suspended, the first effect is to raise the price of coals in London, and, perhaps, to lower the price at Newcastle. The tendency of this were to enhance the profits of a voyage, so as to enable, it may be, the ship-owner both to raise the wages of the seamen, and to have additional gain for himself. It is conceivable, however, that even this temptation of a mutual advantage might not prevail upon them to come to an agreement; in which case, we should have the spectacle prolonged, both of unemployed

men, and of unemployed capital. We should like that such an experiment were permitted to have its full swing, for it would land, we think, in an experience more tranquillizing far, than all the terror and authority of legislation could land us in. In the first place, the men could not stand out indefinitely. Their resources must waste rapidly away; nor could all the devices of union and committeeship ward off the starvation which must sooner or later compel a surrender. But the dread seems to be, lest the capital should moulder away, or take flight in the mean time. It is very true that the vessels might fall into disrepair; and the owners, from want of their accustomed returns, might suffer them to deteriorate. It is also true, that some of them might abandon this scene of idleness, and go in quest of employment, to other, and, perhaps, to foreign places; thereby giving plausibility to the fears which have been expressed, of capital being lost to our land by emigration. But then new forces would come into action; and, it is more than probable, that the very first movement in this direction would be of avail to break the confederacy. All the prospects of the men would be utterly reversed, and all their calculations frustrated, when, instead of so many ships waiting for sailors, sailors beheld the ships moving away from the trade, one after another, and felt themselves to be irrecoverably losing them. There would be a look to them of disaster and menace in the change which they saw to be approaching, when, instead of more ships than there were sailors willing to man them, there were palpably more and

more of sailors every week, than there were remaining ships for their accommodation. There is nought but unfaltering perseverance requisite on the part of capitalists to dislodge men from unreasonable terms. Would they only brave the hazards and the consequences as much as they might, there would be less, both of trouble to the legislature, and of danger to the peace of society. And, after the surrender is made in this instance, what is there so very irremediable, in the disabled and somewhat diminished shipping of the trade, after that the trade has again been set agoing? Should there not, for a time, be a sufficient apparatus for the transportation of coals to London, less of coal would be transported, and a greater price would be given for it, till repairs were completed, and additional vessels were procured, and the shipping were made as commensurate to its business as before. The capital would, almost on the instant, be got up again, at the expense, no doubt, of the families in London, who, for a season, would have less of fuel, and at a heavier cost, than they had been used to. And even, without taking into account the rush of capital from without, to repair the deficiencies that had been incurred upon the Tyne, we can see, how, out of the energies of the trade itself, there would be a quick re-ascent of capital, up to the point of its full ability for the business which it had to perform.

We are quite sensible that matters will never proceed so far. We have now got upon an imaginary field; but just imaginary, because combinations are not so impregnable as to permit of the

supposition that alarms our legislature ever being realized. Sailors will not hold out, till ships shall either be withdrawn, or taken down in the despair of employment. Or, in other words, the process by which it is apprehended that capital and its attendant commerce are to take leave of our island, so far from taking effect to any extent, will not even be so much as entered upon. But it should complete our security, that the very beginning of such a process would prove the decisive blow which should annihilate the confederacy that caused it; and that on the trade being set up again, it would, on its own resources, make up, in a few months, all the capital which had been wasted, or removed from it. For ourselves, we do not even anticipate the commencement of the process; and though we did anticipate, we should not fear it—believing, as we do, that in its ulterior consequences, it would prove innocent of all harm to the economic welfare of our nation. These consequences, indeed, are so far ulterior, as not to have been distinctly perceived; and in virtue of the spectral dimness and magnitude wherewith they are accordingly invested, they have power to mislead the judgment, by disturbing the imagination.

Long indeed ere it come to this, in the case that we have now selected for illustration, there would certain other forces come into play, and by which the whole embarrassment might speedily be terminated. A suspension of the trade between Newcastle and London, would cause, and that almost instantly, an enormous rise in the price of

coals; and, out of this, encouragement could be afforded to ships and sailors from a distance; and against this attempted monopoly in the Tyne, a force of competition could be brought from all parts of the kingdom, and nothing could prevent it but a confederacy extending over all the ports, and including all seamen; and even were such a confederacy possible, foreign vessels, and manned by foreigners, could be hired. This is the vulnerable place at which to aim, and through which it will be easy to bring down the combination. And we are aware that this also is the place where the outstanding workmen, skilled in the whole tactics and management of such a war, put forth their fiercest resistance. The violence, and the outrage, and the intimidation, are chiefly directed against the new hands that are brought to occupy the place which they have left; and could these be kept down, the victory over combinations is secured. This, then, is the great object towards which the force and the wisdom of legislation should be directed. We do not see the obvious justice of the enactment that would make simple combination amongst the labourers, who choose not to work, unlawful. But there is a justice, the most obvious and unquestionable, in the enactment, that would make every encroachment on the freedom of those labourers who are willing to work, unlawful. Let such then be the enactment, and the only enactment; but armed, if necessary, with penalties greatly more formidable than any which our legislature has yet ventured upon. The whole sense and feeling of the community would bear

out our rulers, when they came forward in this attitude—not as the oppressors of workmen, but as the protectors of the most needy and helpless of them all—the protectors, in truth, of the weak against the strong, of the less powerful among the labourers against the terror and tyranny of a most odious monopoly on the part of the more powerful. This is the right place for the application of law; and were law just strong enough and vigilant enough in its application here, there would just be as little need for the revival of the old common, as for the revival of the old statute law, against combinations, simply and in themselves. Our preference would certainly have been, that the common law against combinations had not been revived; but that a new and still more efficient law had been enacted for the punishment of all offences against the liberty of individual workmen. One does not altogether see the equity of a restraint upon the mere act of combination; but one immediately sees the equity of a restraint upon all sorts of violence. We believe that, upon the strength of the latter restraint alone, the triumph over all unrighteous combinations would soon have been practically carried. This we deem to be the more excellent way. By admitting a doubtful principle into any department of our public administration, we admit into it an element of weakness. On the other hand, nothing can resist the authority, all whose enactments are at one with conscience and natural morality, and when law quadrates with that sense of justice which is in every bosom. A law against all intimidation and

violence, though fortified by the strongest sanctions, and most rigidly enforced in every instance of infringement, would have just been such a law. We are quite confident that, by its own single strength, it could achieve the victory over all that is really hurtful and unfair in combinations. The country never can be tranquillized under the operation of a law, although in power it is absolute, if in principle it is ambiguous. But a sure and lasting tranquillity will be the result, when the law in the statute-book, is at one with the law of the heart; and so, when, with whatever terrors it may be guarded, or with whatever severities it may be upheld, it carries the public sentiment irresistibly along with it.

We therefore persist in thinking, that all injurious combinations would have been more effectually gotten the better of, had the authority of the common law against combinations, merely as such, not been revived; and instead of making that to be an indictable offence, which does not very clearly offend against any principle of right or of equity, had the whole force of law been directed to the one object of defending the freedom of individual workmen, against the injustice of those popular corporations, which, because they are popular, are not therefore the less flagrantly deformed by all that is odious and tyrannical in the corporation spirit. In this way the new act might have breathed but one expression, the expression of friendship to the unprotected, and to the unprotected among workmen, too. It would then have been in complete harmony with the spirit of the former ones.

The object of the first was to set up, in behalf of labourers, a defensive stay against the alleged oppression of their masters. The object of the second would have been to set up, in behalf of labourers, a defensive stay against the actual oppression of their own fellows in society. If the first was at all necessary for the freedom of the working classes, the second is indispensable for the completion of it. To have this liberty fully made out and secured for them, there must be a liberty to work for any, as well as a liberty not to work at all. The one liberty is that which masters might be tempted to violate, and it is right, therefore, that it should have a safeguard provided for it. The other liberty is that which fellow-servants might be tempted to violate, and it is equally right that it should have a safeguard provided for it. We are quite satisfied, that the one liberty would fully neutralize any mischief that might be dreaded from the other. If, in consequence of all being at liberty not to work, the artisans of any establishment should strike their tools, and bring its industry to a stand, then, in consequence of all being also at liberty to work, a door would be opened for the competition of the whole population, and this industry be again most surely and speedily set agoing. The distinct business of law should be, to keep that door open, and the access to it safe, whether for young apprentices, or for workmen from all other places of the land. Let but competition be secure, and there is not one injurious combination that would not in time be defeated by it: and its members, in having exiled themselves to

the condition of unprovided outcasts, would be sorely punished for the extravagant and unreasonable demands which they had made. Better this natural punishment, than punishment under an arbitrary law, whose principle, at best, was doubtful, and could be but dimly apprehended. Better than all the correctives of an artificial jurisprudence, are the correctives of the free and equitable system itself; and over which government presides not as the partisan of one class of society in opposition to another, but as the parent that abjured all favouritism, and stood forth the equal protector of all its families.

The intimidation of new or strange workmen by others, who, either by wealth, or by numbers, are more powerful than themselves, is not to be borne with; and no expense, whether of agency, or treasure, should be spared to put it down. We should rather that half the British navy were put into requisition, to ensure the manning of our merchant vessels by the sailors who would, than that any obstruction should remain impracticable, which may have been thrown in their way by the sailors who would not. At a hundredth part, we believe, of this exertion, all that is needed or is desirable in this way could be accomplished. But still, while the fermentation lasts, and as that full experience, so tranquillizing to workmen themselves, is not yet completed, it should be the distinct object of our nation's policy, and of our nation's police, to protect the independence of all persecuted workmen. And, for such an object, whatever strengthening of the nation's police was requisite, we are sure

that the voice of the nation would go most thoroughly along with it. Connected with a purpose like this, a strong executive would be hailed by all the true patriots of our land; employed as it would be, not in fastening the chains of a universal oppression, but in unlocking these chains, and so acting as the guarantee and the guardian of a universal liberty. It seems an axiom in the rights of men, that none shall be forced to work who is unwilling. But it is surely an axiom as indisputable, that all shall be suffered to work who are willing. The line of equity between them, is, on the one hand, to permit the combination, and, on the other, to protect all who do not belong to them, from the terror and the tyranny of combinations. So long as they are not permitted, the popular mind will continue to fester under a sense of provocation, that will have much of the semblance, and somewhat, perhaps, of the reality of justice in it. And this will be further influenced by the imaginary virtue which they will still ascribe to an expedient not yet fully tried, and from which they will conceive themselves debarred by the hand of arbitrary power. But, with the permission to them, and the protection to all others, not one shadow of complaint will be left to them. They will have leave to try their own boasted expedient, and it will be a pacific experience, both to the country and themselves: for sooner far than our fears will allow us to think, they will make full proof of its impotency. We feel persuaded, that, in a few months, this feverishness would subside, and at length give way to the sound and the settled conviction, that, after all, by the turbulence

of their politics and associated plans, nothing is to be gained. And so we should look for a tranquillity more solid than our land has ever yet enjoyed, as the precious fruit of that temperate, yet firm legislation, which can at once be tolerant of combinations, yet most sternly intolerant of crimes.

CHAPTER XXIII.

On the Effect which the High Price of Labour in a Country has upon its Foreign Trade.

THERE can be no doubt of that impartial spirit which so honourably signalizes the rulers of our country; and in virtue of which, they have the unquestionable inclination to deal fairly and equally with all. We do not think that the most enthusiastic friends of the lower orders can reproach our government with an undue bias to the other classes of society; or if ever, in arbitrating between them, there is a seeming preference of masters to servants, that they have been led to it, either by a partiality of affection towards the rich, or by any lordly indifference to the rights and interests of the poor. There is a principle of even-handed justice which runs throughout nearly all the public administrations of our land; and when at any time bewildered from this rectilinear path, it is, generally speaking, not a favouritism towards one order of the community, but a false imagination of what is best for the interests of all the orders, that leads them

astray. In other words, theirs is an honest, though at times a mistaken legislation; and to this nought has contributed more than a dim-sighted political economy, a science through the opacities of which, when parliament does attempt to flounder, it is all most purely and uprightly for the best. It is truly a cheering contemplation, to behold the effect of that light which is now breaking upon them; and how, under its guidance, they are fast purifying our jurisprudence from the errors and the many crudities of former generations. But it will take a time ere the emancipation is completed. And meanwhile, we think, that there are certain economic dogmata, which do sway our politicians against the cause and interest of the working classes, and which dispose them to look adversely and fearfully to that higher status, towards which a virtuous and intelligent peasantry must at length make their way.

This proceeds from the association, in their minds, between a rise in the price of British labour, and a proportional fall in the extent and prosperity of British commerce. It will bring down, it is thought, our ascendancy in foreign markets; and the introduction of this new element, like the problem of the three bodies in physics, has thickened the perplexities of the whole speculation. Its general effect is, to give a hostile feeling towards a more liberal remuneration for the industry of workmen at home, lest this should proceed so far as to limit, and perhaps destroy, our merchandise abroad, and so bereave our nation of the gains of that merchandise. It is thus conceived, that the

avenues may be closed of that trade which binds us to the surrounding world, and by which the whole world, it is thought, becomes tributary to the wealth and importance of our Empire. The price of labour forms one main ingredient of the price of every commodity which labour is wrought up into. Should this price then become too high at home, the price of its produce may become too high for being disposed of abroad. The article that wont to be exported, and which could be bought at such a rate here as to be sold again with advantage there, can no longer be made the subject of this profitable transaction. In other words, because of the high wages, the trade upon which they were earned comes to a cessation; and, as the fruit of our attempt to elevate the status of labourers by means of a higher recompense for their work, the fear is, that foreign trade, in the occupations of which so many of our capitalists reap their incomes, and so many of our labourers reap their livelihoods, may be wholly swept away.

The whole of our policy for centuries has been directed to the object of enabling merchants to export as cheaply as possible, so that they may undersell the competitors of all other nations, and thus obtain possession of the foreign markets. For this purpose, if taxes were imposed on any article when brought into the country, they were generally taken off, in whole or in part, when sent out of it again; or, the tax that was laid on the commodity manufactured by ourselves, and intended for consumption at home, was remitted when carried forth to be made the subject of a bargain abroad; or

every device was employed to furnish the industry of our own people with the raw material on the easiest terms, by giving every encouragement to its importation, and burdening its exportation with the heaviest duties. But when, instead of the exportation of raw material, it came to the exportation of produce that had been wrought out of it, then, in place of duties being imposed, bounties were given. And all, that the merchant might be enabled to effect a sale in foreign parts, with advantage to himself at least, and so involving, it was supposed, the utmost advantage to the country at large. Now, the whole of this policy would be traversed by the high price of British labour, affecting, as it would, the rate at which its products could be sold, just as a tax would on the high price of the raw material. It is thus that many apprehend, as the result of greater wages, the ruin of many branches of our foreign trade, and the consequent ruin of all those manufactures which this trade kept agoing. This were enough, with many a shrewd and secular politician, to condemn, as an idle romance, the whole speculation of a higher-conditioned peasantry. Their imagination is, that it would bereave us of our commerce. They could tolerate a larger payment for the services of our workmen, if it only subjected the other classes of society at home to a higher price for all manufactured commodities. This would just have the effect of admitting labourers into a more equal share of the enjoyments of life with the holders of capital and the proprietors of land. To this no objection would be felt by many who might foresee

an insuperable objection in another quarter. We cannot, beyond a certain extent, subject the people abroad to this higher price for our manufactured commodities. They might find them cheaper elsewhere, and we should lose our customers. The trade, with all its beneficial ramifications, might thus be destroyed. And the feeling is, that what might else have been desirable, even a more liberal recompense for the industry of our workmen, must be deprecated and guarded against to the uttermost, when thus blended in their apprehension with the overthrow, or, at least, the derangement of a great national interest.

To meet this imagination, it may be observed, in the first place, that although our export manufacturers find their market abroad, and fetch their prices from customers there, yet, it does not necessarily follow that the wealth of these foreign purchasers is the primary fountain out of which either their own profit, or the maintenance of their workmen has flowed. The process, in the greater number of instances, is thus. The produce of our home industry is sent to some country abroad; as, for example, our hardware and haberdashery to Portugal. By this trade there are so many debtors constituted in Portugal, to so many creditors in Britain. On the other hand, there is a trade by which foreign produce is imported into our country, as of wine from Portugal, for the use of consumers at home. By this trade there are constituted so many debtors in Britain, to so many creditors in Portugal. The two trades are carried on by wholly distinct individuals, who, throughout the whole of

their respective operations, may have no right, and take no cognizance of each other. The export manufacturers of Britain appear only to do with their Portuguese customers; and to these good customers they may ascribe both their own prosperity, and the livelihood of a numerous dependent population. And, conversely, the wine growers of Portugal may look only towards the British customers, with the same feeling of dependence upon their payments, and of dread lest, by any chance, trade, wherewith they link so much of their revenue, should be interrupted or put an end to. The exporters of each country look to the other, as that out of which their prosperity emanates; and the imagination is not peculiar to them, that if the channels of interchange were in any way obstructed, a large portion of the integral wealth of each would thereby disappear—even a portion, at the least competent to, and therefore commensurate with the profits of all the capitalists engaged in these trades, and the wages of all the workmen.

Now, this is a very natural, and certainly the general conception of men unpractised in economic speculation. And we are not even sure, if there be much in our most esteemed economic theories that is fitted to rectify it. It does not, however, require a very piercing or profound sight into the arcana of the subject, to prove, that however great might be the alarm of individuals concerned in this trade, did it come to a termination, there is really nothing in this event that should alarm a patriot or a statesman, either for the strength or the safety

of our nation. For let us only notice how it is that the British creditors of Portugal are paid. There might be a direct remittance from the debtors in Portugal; but this is not the way of it, any more than there is a direct remittance from the consumers of wine in Britain to the growers of it in Portugal. The matter is adjusted in this way. The debtors to Portugal in Britain, are made over to the creditors of Portugal in Britain by bills of exchange. By a similar device, the debtors to Britain in Portugal are made over to the creditors of Britain in Portugal. It is thus that our export manufacturers are virtually brought into contact with the inland consumers of this country. Their orders come to them from customers abroad, but their payments come to them from consumers at home. They apparently are working in the service of those who wear British cloth, and make use of British hardware in Portugal; but effectively, they are working in the service of those who drink the wine, and eat the oranges, and use the dye-stuffs of Portugal, in Britain. The imports from Portugal are paid by exports to Portugal; and they of Britain who work up, or furnish the exports, obtain their return from them of Britain who use the imports. This is the real character of the transaction between the two countries. That part of our British population, who are engaged, whether by manufactures or by commerce, in this export trade, might have had the same maintenance from the hand of British consumers, in the direct employment of ministering to their enjoyment, by serving them with articles of home manufacture.

But the consumers happen to have a preference for certain foreign articles, and so the former are sent out in exchange for the latter; and there is the substitution of so much foreign for so much home trade. Still, it is virtually in the service of inland consumers, that these export manufacturers are employed; not in preparing the commodities which they use, but in preparing that which purchases the commodities they use; and, in return for this service, they obtain their full maintenance, not out of a fulness that is in Portugal, but out of a fulness that is in the fountain-heads of their own land.

It would not be difficult to estimate the precise advantage of such a foreign trade as we are now imagining. Let the value exported in hardware be just equal to the value imported in wine, and a trade, consisting of these two processes, does not add to the population of the country, for there is no subsistence imported by it. It does not fetch a maintenance to the people who work up hardware for exportation. All that it fetches is wine, in consideration of which, a maintenance is given to these people by those who drink it, out of home resources, and home granaries. But still this foreign trade does something. It supplies the inland consumers with an article which they like, better than any other which they could procure in its place. It is altogether a mistake, that it supplies our export manufacturers with their livelihood. This is dealt out to them by the consumers of wine, and might have been dealt out to them with equal liberality, in return for any article of home

industry, had there been no foreign trade, or no wine imported by it. But the foreign trade has in this instance presented another article which the consumers choose in preference, and for which they afford as good, but not a better maintenance, to as great, but not a greater population. All that this foreign trade has done, is to bring in wine to a set of home consumers, who, but for the foreign trade, would have had to be satisfied with something else. It has substituted for them one enjoyment in place of another. Their taste is better suited, in consequence, than it otherwise would have been, and this is certainly an advantage. But there is nothing more; for every thing beside which stands connected with the wine trade, is just as it would have been, although there had been no such trade. There would have been the same amount of industry, but directed to another object. There would have been the same population, but engaged in another service. There would have been the same maintenance for that population. The ability which can now uphold so many export manufacturers, who work up hardware, and get wine in return for it, lies with the purchasers of that wine at home; and should this foreign trade be destroyed, the ability is still in reserve to uphold the discarded manufacturers, equally well, in another employment. They suffer a temporary inconvenience from the change, and certain inland consumers would suffer a permanent inconvenience. But we contend that it forms the whole, and the only inconvenience which can be sustained by the destruction of this foreign trade—even that the

affluent of our land are bereft of one gratification, and forced to take up with another, and to them an inferior gratification, in its room.

Could politicians be led to entertain and to adopt this view of foreign trade, they would cease to associate with its continuance, as they have hitherto done, the very existence, or, at least, the power and prosperity of our nation. But it is just with the foreign, as we have already stated it to be with the home trade. In measuring the value of each, they look to the *terminus ad quem* of neither, but merely to the processes of operation. They prize the mere working of the mechanism, more than they do its workmanship; and in reference to the goods of merchandise, are far more refreshed by the spectacle of their being made, and sorted, and sent forth, and shipped, and conveyed, than by the spectacle of that gratification which they yield at their final landing-place. The good, according to their estimation, does not appear to lie in the use of the commodities, but in the preparation of them—not in the object which set the industry agoing, but in the bustle, and extent, and spirit, and glowing activities of the industry itself. The delusion is, that this industry is not only the creator of its own produce, but is also the creator of its own maintenance. Now, it must be accredited only with one of these things, for it is in no way entitled to the credit of them both. In such a case of foreign trade as we have supposed, the maintenance lay stored with the consumers of the imported article; and in return for it, went forth among the families of the export manufac-

turers. Were the trade annihilated, the maintenance would still find its way among the same number of people, in return for a different service. The whole amount of the mischief would lie in the exchange of a better article of consumption, for a worse; or, rather, of a better liked article for a worse. Now, the apprehension is, that a far more tragical consequence than this would ensue from the annihilation of our trade with Portugal—that the operatives in this trade would cease to work, and therefore to live; and not merely that the customers in this trade would cease to drink wine, or to eat oranges. The whole regret would be, that it put a stop to the wonted production, and not that it put a stop to the wonted consumption; and could it only be seen that all those who were engaged in the production, might be turned to the service of producing something else, and be as well maintained in that service as before, every political alarm, at least, would be tranquillized. The change which had taken place in the consumption, might affect the feelings of private families, but would never call forth the fears of our statesmen. Their big imagination of the West India interest, would be mightily brought down, did they perceive the whole mischief that should ensue from its destruction, to be only of this description, that our tea would no longer be sweetened as it had been heretofore; or of the East India interest, that, on its disappearance from the land, tea itself should forthwith disappear from our breakfast tables: or of any other trading interest whatever, that all the good of its presence to the nation, lay

in the article which it furnished, and that all the loss of its absence, or its ruin, lay in the loss of that gratification which was yielded to consumers in the use of that article. The practical likelihood is, that as the ability which now sustains all these interests, would, upon their overthrow, sustain interests of equal extent in some other quarter, other countries abroad would be repaired to in quest of the very same produce, so as to uphold an equal foreign trade, and to secure the same articles of enjoyment as before. But even in the failure of all these resources, and though forced by some strong political necessity to abandon the whole of our external commerce, and fall back upon ourselves, we should only lose by this the produce of foreign parts, and get, in its room, the produce of that industry of our own people, which took the direction before of export trade and export manufactures; and they, in this new direction of their labour, would be met by the very wages and the very profit which they had formerly. There would neither be loss of population nor loss of industry in consequence. But it would be industry restricted to home products; and we cannot deny, that, in virtue of the restriction, there would be less of enjoyment. This would undoubtedly be a loss, and the whole loss. But other losses of a far more tremendous character than that of enjoyment, float before the imagination of our rulers, and lead them to associate with all these mercantile interests, a might and a magnificence which do not really belong to them.

It is not the loss of the wine, but the loss of the

wine trade, that would so disturb our mercantile politicians, on the cessation of all intercourse with Portugal. But could they be made to see, that there is really nothing in the cessation of this intercourse which can deprive us of the maintenance we before had for our export manufacturers, and that so, no other loss but that of the wine would follow upon the loss of the wine trade,—then the charm of our foreign commerce, and by which they have been led so to exaggerate its importance, might at length be dissipated. They would never once dream of a decay of national strength, because of the mere negation of the wine of Portugal. Neither would they dream of a decay of national strength, in the mere negation of the oranges of Portugal. It would be curious however to observe, whether they might not in all probability demur, should they be told that there is just as little danger to our national prosperity or strength, in the negation of the dye-stuffs of Portugal. This were fitted to revive the old impression of the worth of our manufactures,—an impression founded not on the value of their products, but on a value, *per se*, in their mere processes. When oranges are mentioned, this suggests the idea of mere subserviency to a consumption that might be dispensed with, and the price of it reserved for an equally large return to the export manufacturers in some other service. But when dye-stuffs are mentioned, the first and readiest suggestion is, that of their subserviency to the business of our dye-works, to the employment of producers, and not to the gratification of consum-

ers. The illusion is prolonged by an act of mental transference from one branch of industry to another; and ere it can be dispersed, there must be another transference of our thoughts, from the work of those who put on the colours, to the enjoyment of those who are arrayed in them; and who, in paying for the enjoyment, prove that it is with these the customers, and not with those the actors of the trade, that the maintenance lies of all its dependent families. If it do not contribute to the strength or greatness of a nation, that so many of it shall drink wine or eat oranges, as little surely does it contribute to any public interest, that they should be arrayed in grey, or green, or yellow, or have any foreign tincture whatever put upon the habiliments which they wear. Yet this, in the present instance, is the whole power of our boasted commerce to aliment and uphold our nation; however inveterate the delusion may be by which it is regarded throughout all its branches, not as a handmaid to the gratifications of those who have a maintenance to bestow on others beside themselves, but as the creator of that maintenance, as the sovereign dispenser of their subsistence, and of their very being, to the families of the land.

It will probably be long ere the principle which we labour to establish, shall be fully acquiesced in; even that all which a trade furnishes to mankind is its own commodity; and that when we describe the use or the gratification of this commodity to the purchaser, we describe the whole advantage of the trade. The sugar trade ema-

nates nothing but sugar; and the tobacco trade nothing but tobacco; and the spice trade nothing but spices. Each emanates its own article, and nothing more. It is not the emanating fountain of a maintenance to those who are engaged in it. It only draws this maintenance from a fountain-head anterior to itself, and distinct from itself. It does not even pay a tax to government. It is the price given by the consumer which achieves all, and comprehends all. The trade does nought but supply him with its own produce. The other blessings of which it is conceived to be prolific, are all due to the customer. It is he who gives both to government and to capitalists, all the revenue which they derive from the trade; and it is he who gives their subsistence to its labourers.

Were the true functions of trade precisely understood, and its importance reduced to its real and proper dimensions, it would be felt that the strength and stability even of so great a commercial nation as ours, do not rest on a basis so precarious as is commonly apprehended. It is no doubt very natural, that the people of our great manufacturing towns, should feel as if their very existence depended on the foreign countries which afforded a market to their respective commodities; that, with the American market, and the colonial market, and the other distant markets of the world, there should stand associated in their imagination, both the profits of all their trade, and the subsistence of those numerous workmen who are engaged in it; and that thus, as villages grew up to the magnitude of cities, and suburbs took from one

year to another a wider circuit than before, it should be conceived that foreign trade was the instrument of all these accessions to the wealth and population of our empire. They are working for the supply of their immediate customers abroad, and are not conscious that they may, in fact, have been working all the while in the service of consumers at home; that, when exporting muslins to the West Indies, or hardware to Portugal, they were, in effect, bringing home the sugar of the one country, and the wine or oranges of the other; and that, in return for these, they drew a revenue and a maintenance from the people of their own land. It may, after all, have been the improvement of the country that surrounds them, that has given extension to our towns. Their population may have increased, just because the aliment that subsists them has increased; and the proprietors of this aliment, now richer than before, can indulge to a greater extent in foreign luxuries than before, and so maintain a greater number of export manufacturers in the service of preparing the articles which go forth in the purchase and in exchange for these luxuries. And so, though an impassable barrier were raised between us and all foreign countries, there might remain as great a population and only a change in their employments; the same amount of industry, and only a change in the distribution of it.

A few more explanations will complete all that we shall advance, at present, on the subject of this chapter.

For the sake of simplicity, we had conceived

that the price of the wine imported from Portugal was just equal to that of the hardware exported from this country. But it is not because wine is imported here, that hardware is exported there. The people here have a taste for their wine; the people there have use for our hardware: and these two circumstances are distinct from and independent of each other. Portugal might come to stand in no need of any hardware from us, and still the squires of Britain might have such a taste for the wine of Portugal, as willingly to persist in their wonted sacrifice to obtain it. If a third country, as France, should attain to the manufacture of hardware of as good a quality and at as cheap a rate, they might dispossess our export trade from the market of Portugal. We should be undersold, and the effect would be, that while imports passed from Portugal into Britain, no exports, of British manufacture at least, would pass in return for them from Britain into Portugal.

There is one way in which this matter could be adjusted. The landed proprietors of Britain would not now support a population of export manufacturers at home, whose employment it was to work up hardware for the payment of the wine that comes from Portugal. But still resolved upon having the wine, they might, rather than want it, export directly of the produce of their estates, for the purchase of a luxury so agreeable to them. And this is just the arrangement that takes place in every country which cannot work manufactures cheap enough to pay for their imports. They pay for it by the exportation of rude produce. This

would be the undoubted effect, if there were a general underselling of the British by other nations, in all foreign countries. Britain would become an exporting country; that is, would export grain in return for the products of foreign lands. That population which, in other circumstances, we could have maintained at home, would be maintained abroad. Our landed proprietors might have a command, as before, of foreign luxuries. With a produce over and above the maintenance of their own households, they could make something of it abroad, if they found no more agreeable use for it at home. If determined upon wine from Portugal, they could, by means of this spare produce, fetch it to their doors. But then we should lose our whole population of export manufacturers; and there would be the access thereby of an equal population to other countries. The manufacturers for home consumpt, might still cluster in towns as before; but then these towns should be abridged of export manufacturers; and in proportion as this underselling of Britain took place in foreign markets, in that proportion might Britain fall back towards the limits of her agrarian population.

But it is not the underselling of Britain in one, or even in several countries, which will necessarily produce this effect. Her hardware, for example, and indeed all her other manufactures, might be wholly driven from the market in Portugal, and she continue to import as much wine as before from that country, without having a single quarter of agricultural produce to export in return for it.

We have supposed her undersold in Portugal by France. Let us imagine a million sterling worth of wine imported from Portugal to Britain; and that France now supplies the former country with that million sterling worth of hardware, which Britain had before given in exchange for her wine. Still it is conceivable, that though Britain is not able to cope with France in hardware, she is more than able to cope with her in muslin; and that France herself is supplied from this country with a million worth sterling of that commodity. By this simple export of muslin, might Britain save herself from the export of grain, or of any thing else, to Portugal. She can, in fact, pay the wine imported from Portugal, by the muslin exported to France. She has now, it is true, no debtors in Portugal, whom she can direct, as before, by her bills, to make the payments due to her creditors in Portugal. But she has debtors in France; and these she can make over to her creditors in Portugal. By this device, which it is here unnecessary to explain with any minuteness, the receivers of British muslin in France could pay what they owe for it to the exporters of French hardware to Portugal; and these hardware exporters, having obtained their payment in this way, can leave their debtors in Portugal to settle with the creditors of Britain there, from whom this country received their wine. It is thus that the wine from Portugal is paid by sending out muslin to France; and it is thus that, by the indirect or circuitous route of bills of exchange, the imports from one country may be paid for, not by the exports either of pro-

duce or of manufactures to that country, but wholly by the exportation of manufactured goods to other countries.

It is thus that Britain can afford to have larger imports from particular countries, than she can pay for by the export manufactures which she gets disposed of in these countries; and that, without being reduced to the necessity of exporting agricultural produce. To save her from this necessity, it is enough that the value of her export manufactures, on the whole, is equal to the value of her imports on the whole; for then, she pays for these imports, without having to export any rude produce in return for them. In other words, she keeps all her means of subsistence to herself, and with it feeds a population at home, who by their industry provide her with all the foreign commodities that she obtains. Had it been otherwise—had she, from any cause whatever, been put to such heavy expense in the working up of her export articles, as to be undersold by competitors in foreign markets, then, if she still persisted in the use of foreign commodities, she behoved to send forth agricultural produce in return for them; and so to feed a population abroad, which she now feeds at home. Such is the precise effect of being undersold in foreign markets; an effect, however, which is not realized by our being undersold in some markets, and not in others. If we can but secure as many markets as will take off a value of manufactured goods from us, equal to that of all our imports from all places, then we shall not need to export agricultural produce for the payment of these imports. If those

markets do not take off so great a value as that of all our imports, then we shall have to export agricultural produce in payment of the difference. If, on the other hand, they take off a greater value than that of all our imports, the difference is shifted to the other side, and it has to be made up by the importation of agricultural produce.

It is thus that, while the country which is undersold to a certain extent in foreign countries, becomes an exporter, the country which undersells to a certain extent becomes an importer of agricultural produce. Let any country, as Britain, be at that point of neutrality, where her export manufactures just so balanced the foreign commodities imported by her, that she had neither to export nor to import food. Then observe the effect of some sudden cheapening that took place in her working up of these export manufactures, whether by a fall in the price of labour or of raw material, by the invention of machinery, by the discovery of coal, or by any other advantage of her situation for preparing articles of commerce at an easier rate than in neighbouring countries. Let the average reduction in the expense of preparing commodities for foreign markets be twenty per cent. This, in the first intance, would add twenty per cent. to the profit of the export capitalist; and in the second instance, allure more of capital from other employments to a trade so advantageous; and, in the third, raise the profit in these other employments also, now drained to a certain extent of their capital; and, in the fourth, create among capitalists a desire to extend their trades now more profitable

than before, and so a competition among them all for labourers. The effect at home would be to raise wages, and so, eventually, to increase our population by the encouragement given to earlier and more frequent marriages. It is true, that all the while we have not supposed any process going on for an addition to the food, along with this addition to the population of the country. And certainly there is nothing among the earlier steps of the process which we have now described, that should lead at once to an enlargement of the home supply of food, by any stimulus which they are fitted to give to the agriculture of our own land. On the contrary, this rise of wages should rather, in the first instance, contract our agriculture. So far from enabling the husbandman to bring more land into cultivation, it should make the cultivation of the last land taken in, or that which can barely afford a profit, and no rent, cease to be profitable. But although there is no process going on at home for the increase of food, along with the tendency which there now is, from the rise of wages, to an increase of population, there is such a process going on abroad. The export manufactures, at first twenty per cent. more profitable, are, by the rush of additional capital into the trade, wrought off in greater abundance than before. They are carried abroad in larger quantities. They become cheaper in all the foreign markets to which they previously had access. Nay, they can afford the expense of being transported to more distant markets. They can bear, perhaps, a land carriage to remote and inland districts, into which they had

never penetrated before. The British merchants there supplant and undersell traders with whom they had not before come into competition. And thus, by the command of so many more outlets, and the possession of so many more markets, there may now be a much greater value of British goods sent abroad, than at the time when food did not form one of those imports by which the exports were paid. It is true, that the now additional ex ports could still be paid for by additional imports, not consisting of food—if we could suppose that the additional profit now made by our manufacturers, and the additional wages now given to our labourers, were all expended upon foreign luxuries —or, in other words, that no sooner did the means of purchasing a certain style and amount of enjoyment come into their possession, than they instantly fixed upon this higher standard of enjoyment, and expended accordingly. This is not likely. Capitalists, instead of spending all their augmented profits, would, for the pleasure of accumulation, extend their business the more, and so add to the manufactured products for exportation. Workmen, instead of spending all their augmented wages, so as to marry as late as before, would, for the pleasure of a domestic life, marry, on the average, somewhat sooner, and with greater frequency, and so add to the population of the land. This increase of population would increase the price of food, would make it bear the expense of being transported from distant countries, would, in fact, call for the additional import of food wherewith to balance the additional exports that were now sent

forth, in consequence of their being more cheaply manufactured than before. Thus it is, that those facilities or advantages for industry, which enable one nation to bring manufactured commodities cheaper to market than its neighbours, may at length cause that nation to be an importer of food; and so land it in an excess of population beyond what it can maintain out of its own agricultural produce—a superinduced population, dependent on foreign supplies for subsistence, and so forming an excrescence upon that natural population, which can be fed and sustained from the natural resources of their own land.

There is a limit, however, to this excess of population; and that, in virtue of causes which act so speedily and powerfully, as, in most instances, to prevent its going very far beyond the extent of the natural population. Ere we arrive at this, we do not need to wait till the world is saturated with British manufactures; for, long before the completion of such an object, these manufactures must, in spite of all our peculiar advantages, be at length wrought at such an expense, that the world will, after being supplied with them to a certain yearly extent, cease to look after them. It does not follow, although manufacturers, at the outset of the process which we have now imagined, could afford their commodities at twenty per cent. cheaper than before, they will be able to afford it long. In the train of consequences that flow out of such a state, there is a rise in the price of food, and, connected with this, a rise in the price of labour. The very fact of grain being imported to help out the subsis-

tence of a nation, implies a dearer subsistence in that nation than in others. Two grains of the same quality do not fetch two prices when brought to market; and so the home and foreign grain will be equally dear. In other words, the population at home are fed at a greater expense than the population abroad; at an expense greater by the price of the carriage of grain from foreign countries. This will so far countervail the original advantages wherewith the British manufacturer set out, and by which he was enabled to undersell the manufacturers of other nations by more than twenty per cent. He might not now be able to undersell them by more than ten per cent., and that in the more accessible markets. The more remote markets, which the original superiority of twenty per cent. could have found him access to, might now, with this reduction, be shut against him. He might have been able to carry his goods with advantage to remote and inland districts, had he retained his original superiority; but not with this superiority impaired by the rise of provisions, and consequently of wages, at home. This supplies a limit to the demand for British manufactures; and, what gives a surer necessity to the limit, it should be recollected, that, in proportion as we extend our supplies of grain from abroad, it must be brought home at a heavier expense to us. We must fetch it from more distant or dearer countries than at the first; or that country, whose coast, or the side of whose navigable rivers, could satisfy our moderate demand, might, when that demand increased, have to draw the produce from

its upland districts, and so expose us to a great addition of expense for carriage. It is out of these two causes,—first, from the expense attendant on the carriage of British manufactures; and that an expense constantly increasing in their progress towards the more inaccessible parts of the world,—and, secondly, and chiefly, from the expense attendant on the carriage of agricultural produce to Britain; and this too an expense constantly increasing, in proportion as we extend our demand, and have to draw for it from more inaccessible parts than before;—it is from the operation of these two causes, that a certain limit is formed, beyond which, the exportation of British manufactures can no longer proceed with advantage to the capitalist. He finds that, even with all his original advantages, there are countries so impracticable, that he could not introduce his goods amongst them, but at an expense which would subject him to be undersold. But he farther finds, that these original advantages are counterpoised by the now higher price of subsistence, and so the now higher price of labour. There is thus a point of equilibrium between the natural advantages of a country for the industry of its people, and the high price at which a people, when these advantages have accumulated beyond the extent of their natural population, are consequently maintained,—a point beyond which a greater amount of manufactures will not be exported, and a greater amount of agricultural produce will not be imported,—the point, in fact, at which the accretion ceases of families subsisted from abroad, and when the country labours under all

that weight of superinduced population which it can bear.

There is perhaps no country in the world, where the industry of man is made so effective, both by natural and political advantages, as Britain. Its unbounded supply of coal, its machinery, its extent of coast, its roads and inland navigation, enable it, beyond most other nations, to bring its manufactured goods cheaply into market. It was therefore to be expected, that it should be a country which imports grain, and it does so accordingly. It would have been interesting to notice, how far all these advantages carried its population beyond their natural limit, or at what point it would have ceased to import agricultural produce. From this we are in a certain measure precluded, by the operation of our corn laws. It is only under a system of free importation, that we could have known how far a country, with our peculiar advantages, would have extended its population beyond their natural limits. We do not think, that even with full scope and encouragement, and the removal of all prohibitions, the excess would have proceeded beyond a small fraction of the natural population, and neither do we think it desirable that it should. In years of scarcity, when all the restrictions on importation are taken off, the greatest annual importation ever known, amounted to about one-tenth of the whole consumption of the island; and the actual importation, on the average of several years previous to 1800, only supplied eleven days consumption, or one thirty-third of the whole. It would, we have no doubt, be greater than this, were the corn trade

thrown completely open; our export manufacturers, on the one hand, being enabled thereby to work off their goods at a cheaper rate, from the somewhat reduced price of corn, and so to obtain a more extended possession of the markets abroad; and foreign countries, on the other, finding it cheaper, in consequence of our signal helps and facilities for all sorts of industry, to purchase our manufactures, though wrought by a population whom they feed at a distance, than if they were wrought by a population whom they feed at their own door. This, however, from the causes already explained, would have its limit; nor do we think it either likely or desirable, that this exterior limit should go very greatly beyond that of the natural population.

When there is not enough of imports to pay for the exports, the exchange is in favour of the exporting country. But that state of exchange which is in favour of a country, is against its export manufacturers; and may at length be so much against them, that the trade shall cease to yield a remunerating profit. This affords another view of the limit, beyond which they cannot carry their operations. Did they continue to export more, even though with as little expense at home, and as great a price abroad, yet to realize that price, it must come to them through the medium of an exchange, which their own augmented transactions have made more unfavourable to themselves. It is quite evident that a free corn trade would enlarge this limit. It would add to the value of our imports, by allowing a free admission to this import commodity. The exchange would not be so

much in favour of the country, and less against the export manufacturers than before ; and they might work up commodities, and send them forth to a greater extent, ere they touched that limit where the exchange became so unfavourable, that the profit of the trade yielded a bare remuneration for the capital invested in it.

Ricardo, in his chapter on foreign trade, states with truth, although not with sufficient explicitness, that the improvement of a manufacture in any country tends to increase the quantity of commodities, at the same time that it raises general prices in the country, where the improvement takes place. He here makes an important correction, on a position of Dr Smith's, when, by a conclusive, but greatly too concise process of reasoning for general readers, he establishes the rise that takes place in the general money prices of a country, when the commodities of some one or more manufactures can, by the abridgment of labour, be wrought up at less expense than before. This effect must be farther aggravated by our corn laws, seeing that export commodities, which might have been paid by corn, will, in defect of a sufficient value of other imports, have to be paid for by gold and silver. Hence a still larger accumulation of the precious metals in our country, and an increase beyond what would otherwise have place in the money price of all its commodities. Were corn permitted a free entry from foreign parts, this accumulation would be reduced, and a general cheapening of all things would be the consequence. The produce of British industry would become cheaper

than it is now; and there is no doubt that the abolition of our corn laws would give an impulse and an extension to our export manufactures. We should, after this abolition, have a larger importation of agricultural produce than we have at present, and, corresponding to this, a larger excess of superinduced over our natural population.

Now, the undoubted effect of lower wages at home, were to increase our exports, and so to enlarge this superinduced population. It would just land us in a greater number of people, over and above those who are subsisted by our own agricultural produce. It would stretch the population, by a certain degree, beyond the limits of the natural population, and land us in some fractional excess of families, for whose maintenance we should have to depend on supplies from abroad. The good of this, to say the least of it, is very ambiguous. It might be deemed by some an accession to our empire; but certainly it is not such an accession as would be afforded by an enlargement of our borders, by such a circumambient belt of territory reclaimed from the sea, as should feed the whole of these additional inhabitants. There would accrue thereby an additional population to the country; but, in computing the additional wealth, you would only have the wages of so many more labourers, and the profits of so many more capitalists, without the rent of so many more landlords. This last ingredient only belongs to that wealth which is connected with the natural population; for the surplus population may be said to labour in the service of landlords in other countries, whose

rent or revenue it is that forms the main, if not the only fund, out of which the public expenses of a state are defrayed. When to this is added the precariousness to which a nation is exposed, when thus dependent for food upon distant countries, it will be felt to be not a clearly desirable thing that her commerce should be very greatly extended beyond the basis of her own agriculture, or that, having much of subsistence to import from abroad, there should be a much larger population residing within her borders than can be fed from the produce of her soil.

And the particular views of many statesmen are in full coincidence with these doctrines of theory. Our corn laws, at least, indicate that the extension of our people beyond the produce of our own land, had not been felt by them as an object of very urgent importance. The taxes which still continue on the several necessaries of life form another obstacle to this extension, as serving to raise the price of British labour, and so to lessen the power of British merchants to undersell the merchants of other countries. In both these ways, the tendency to a surplus population in Britain has been considerably restrained; and yet, notwithstanding, a certain surplus population has been actually formed. Even with the corn laws, then, and with our present taxes on various of the secondary accommodations of life, a higher wage could be afforded to our labourers; and on the abolition of these laws and taxes, a much higher wage could be afforded ere the natural population would be trenched upon, or ere we should become the exporters of agricultural

produce. In other words, there is no country whose clear and substantial interests would be less endangered by a high standard of enjoyment among our workmen, and a consequent high remuneration for their work, than those of Britain. Such are her natural advantages, that even with a great comparative dearness of labour, she could maintain that superiority, or rather that equality in foreign markets, which is really all that is desirable. So that without let or hinderance from any apprehension in this quarter, she may give herself indefinitely up to the pure and patriotic task, of raising the condition, by raising the character of her peasantry.

We are abundantly sensible, that the argument of this chapter is altogether superfluous to those, who, with Ricardo and his followers, maintain the doctrine, that profits fall just to the extent that wages rise. It were out of place, to offer here any estimate of this doctrine; nor is it necessary for any present or practical object of ours, seeing that the economists of this school can have no such alarm, as it is the purpose of our foregoing observations to dissipate. They, on the contrary, must regard the high price of British labour as forming, not a prohibition, but a passport for British commodities into foreign markets. The truth is, that, according to this view, any rise in the element of labour must be more than compensated from the element of a reduced profit; for this last will tell, on each successive transfer of the commodity from one dealer to another; so that, on the last sale which it undergoes in the market, it will turn out to be all the cheaper for the work of preparing it

having become dearer than before. We repeat, that we do not now mean to appreciate this doctrine; but hold it satisfactory, that the disciples of a fashionable and rising school must be all on the generous side in the question of wages. In their apprehension, a liberal remuneration for the work of British hands must extend the sale of British manufactures. We can scarcely persuade ourselves of such a result; and we count it enough of vindication for the cause, that, with a far more liberal remuneration than labourers at present enjoy, there might still be such an export of manufactures as would save the exportation of food, and so maintain the entireness of our natural population.

CHAPTER XXIV.

On Mechanic Schools, and on Political Economy as a branch of Popular Education.

The mechanic schools which are now spreading so widely and so rapidly over the face of our land, must be regarded as a mighty contribution to those other causes, which are all working together for the elevation of the popular mind. But it should not be forgotten, that the scientific education which they provide for *those who choose it*, forms only one of these causes, and that ere we can prevail upon all, or even upon the majority in the working classes of society so to choose, there must have

been anterior causes, both of a preparatory and of a pervading nature, in previous operation. We can scarcely expect any demand for a higher scholarship from those who have not been furnished, in some tolerable degree, with elementary learning; and we might farther affirm, with all safety, that the most willing attendants on the ministrations of a Sabbath, are also the most willing attendants on the ministrations of a week-day instructor. However little it may have been reflected upon, it is not the less true, that there obtains a very close affinity between a taste for science, and a taste for sacredness. They are both of them refined abstractions from the grossness of the familiar and ordinary world; and the mind which relishes either has achieved a certain victory of the spiritual or the intellectual, over the animal part of our nature. The two resemble in this, that they make man a more reflective and a less sensual being, than before; and, altogether, impress a higher cast of respectability on all his habits, and on all his ways. It does occasionally happen, that, on entering the house of a mechanic, the eye is pleased with the agreeable spectacle of a well-stored book-case. It is generally the unfailing index of a well-conditioned family; and this, whether it be loaded with the puritanic theology of our forefathers, or with the popular science of the present day. Now, we are sure that this never can, from an occasional, become a common or a frequent exhibition, but by a process through which our peasantry must ascend to a higher style of outward comfort, as well as to a higher state of mental cultivation. We, therefore,

.ail the scientific education of the people, as being a most powerful auxiliary towards a translation so desirable ; and we are sure, on the other hand, that the cause of mechanic schools will be most powerfully aided, by a greater efficiency being given, both to the methods of common and of Christian education, in parishes. How this can best be accomplished in cities of overgrown population, we have already, with all amplitude, endeavoured to explain ; and we barely refer to former chapters of this work, for our description of those processes, by which we conceive that the lessons both of religion and of ordinary scholarship, may most effectually be served out to plebeian families.*

We have also, in part, to make the same reference, that a complete view may be afforded of the estimate in which we hold the salutary operation of mechanic schools, on the circumstances of our general population.† We have already made application to this subject of the very obvious truth, that a process of political economy may take effect upon men, who do not understand the steps or *rationale* of the process. It is not necessary, for example, that the philosophy of Malthus should be studied by our common people, ere they shall come under the operation of that moral and preventive check, through which we are taught, by his philosophy, that labourers might attain to a

* See more particularly the 4th Chapter of this work, and a pamphlet which I had occasion to publish some years ago, entituled, "Considerations on the System of Parochial Schools in Scotland, and on the advantages of establishing them in large towns."

† See the first Chapter of this work.

greater comfort and sufficiency than they are now in the possession of. It is not necessary, for this purpose, to read lectures, or to circulate tracts among them, which shall expound the theory of population, in order that they may realize the benefits which would ensue from a right practical application of this theory. The same object is accomplished by the ordinary and general processes, whether of spiritual or of scholastic culture. A lettered and religious population will exemplify the truth of this system, though ignorant of all its doctrines, and therefore totally unacted upon by its authority. Such people have, generally speaking, a self-respect and a self-command —a taste for decent accommodations—a habit of enjoyment, and, therefore, a habit of expense, which demands a higher wage than what can afford the mere homely subsistence of an Irish family. And we have already explained how it is that the demand becomes effective—just by the habit of later and less frequent marriages—a habit to which, without the bidding of any theory, they are naturally led by their own sense of what that is, which makes the adequate and the respectable provision for a distinct family establishment. This stands very palpably out, in the custom, at one time nearly universal, of our Scottish peasantry, when, after the virtuous attachment had been formed, and the matrimonial promises had been exchanged, even years of delay were incurred, ere the matrimonial state was entered upon. These years formed an interval of economy and exertion with each of the parties, whose

aim it was to provide respectably in furniture, and in all sorts of *plenishing*, for their future household. Here the connexion is quite distinct, between a higher standard of enjoyment, and a later period of marriages. And it was certainly then by another tuition than that of any economic theory, that a habit in every way so wholesome found its establishment among our population. And the exposition of such a theory to the understanding of the people, is just as little needed now, for the purpose either of restoring or of raising this practical habit amongst them. The thing is brought about, not by means of imparting a skill or an intelligence in political economy, but simply by those influences which give a higher tone to the character; and of which influences, education may certainly be regarded as one of the most powerful.

It is thus that mechanics' schools, even though the lessons of economic science should for ever be excluded from them, are fitted to work the greatest of economic improvements in the condition of the people. It is enough that they call forth the aspirations of that higher nature, which has so long been overborne by the urgency of their animal wants, and the unchastened violence of their mere animal propensities. Political, it is true, may, like physical science, be addressed to them as an object of liberal curiosity, and simply by the excitement and the exercise which it gives to the mental faculties, it may sublimate the whole man to a more intellectual region than the one he usually breathes in. But either astronomy or chemistry could subserve the same end; and there-

fore we repeat, that, though in deference to a general, but ill-founded alarm, the education of workmen in political economy should be kept out of these schools, another education can be devised which shall be fully as effectual for the accomplishment of the most desirable processes in political economy. They might be made to exemplify the principles in which they are not enlightened; and, without being taught the bearing which a higher taste and style of enjoyment have upon the circumstances of our peasantry, they can be led to imbibe this taste, and so to realize all its eventual benefits. For this purpose, it is not one, but many kinds of scholarship, that are effectual. Whatever may stimulate the powers of the understanding; or may regale the appetite for speculation, by even that glimmering and imperfect light which is made to play, in a mechanic school, among the mysteries of nature; or may unveil, though but partially, the great characteristics of wisdom and goodness that lie so profusely scattered over the face of visible things; or may both exalt and give a wider compass to the imagination; or may awaken a sense that before was dormant, to the beauties of the divine workmanship, and to the charms of that argument, or of that eloquence, by which they are expounded;—each, and all of these, might be pressed into the service of forming to ourselves a loftier population. Every hour that a workman can reclaim from the mere drudgeries of bone and muscle, will send him back to his workshop and his home a more erect and high-minded individual than before. With his

growing affinity to the upper classes of life in mental cultivation, there will spring up an affinity of taste and habit, and a growing desire of enlargement from those various necessities by which the condition of a labourer may now be straitened and degraded. There will be an aspiration after greater things; and the more that he is fitted by education for intercourse with his superiors in rank, the more will he be assimilated to them in a taste for the comforts and the decencies of life. In the very converse that he holds with the lecturer, who one day expounds to him the truths of science, and another day examines and takes account of his proficiency, there is a charm that not only helps to conciliate him to better society, but that also familiarizes him in some measure to the tone of it. This might only proceed a certain way; and yet, however little that way is, it must be obvious, that such a man will not so aptly, or so heedlessly, rush into marriage with no other prospect before him than a potatoe diet for his constant regimen, and one closely huddled apartment for his home. Now, this is all that we want, to relieve the labour-market of the glut which oppresses it, and so to secure a higher wage for our labourers. Towards this result, the mechanic schools lend a most important contribution; and they will speed a most desirable process in political economy, even though they should never initiate so much as one disciple into the principles of the science.

Still, however, we hold it desirable that this science should be admitted, with others, into our

schemes of popular education; and that for the purpose of averting the very mischief which many have dreaded, and which they apprehend still from the introduction of it. To this they have been led, by the very title of our science giving rise to a fancied alliance in their mind with politics; and, in virtue of which, they would liken a lecturer upon this subject, in a school of arts, to a demagogue in the midst of his radical auditory. Now the truth is, that the economical science which enables its disciples to assign the causes of wealth, is as distinct from politics, as is the arithmetical science which enables its disciples to compute the amount of it; and there is just as much reason to fear an approaching democracy, because the people are now taught to calculate prices, as there will be when people are taught soundly to estimate and to reason upon the fluctuation of prices. We do not happen to participate in the alarm even of those who should, above all things, deprecate, from our mechanic institutions, what might strictly and properly be termed the science of politics, believing, as we do, that all truth is innocent, and that the greatest safety lies in its widest circulation. But we confess a more especial affection for the truths and the doctrines of political economy; and, so far from dreading, do greatly desiderate the introduction of its lessons into all those seminaries which have been instituted for the behoof of our common people. It is utterly a mistake that it cannot be taught there, without the hazard of exciting a dangerous fermentation. Instead of this, we are not aware of a likelier instrument than a

judicious course of economical doctrine, for tranquillizing the popular mind, and removing from it all those delusions which are the main causes of popular disaffection and discontent. We are fully persuaded, that the understanding of the leading principles of economical science, is attainable by the great body of the people; and that when actually attained, it will prove not a stimulant, but a sedative to all sorts of turbulence and disorder; more particularly that it will soften, and at length do away those unhappy and malignant prejudices which alienate, from each other, the various orders of the community, and spread abroad this salutary conviction, that neither government, nor the higher classes of the state, have any share in those economical distresses to which every trading and manufacturing nation is exposed; but that, in fact, the high road to the secure and permanent prosperity of labourers, is through the medium of their own sobriety, and intelligence, and virtue.

But, in confirmation of this our sentiment, we must go somewhat into detail; and, in so doing, shall have to describe the rapid sketch of what we deem to be a right course of popular economics.

It, in the first place, can be made abundantly obvious to the general understanding, that the price of an article has a certain and necessary dependence on the two elements of demand and supply; and so, on the one hand, that the buyers can promote their interest of lessening its price, by lessening their demand; and that the sellers can promote their interest of raising its price, by lessening the supply. The principle is too elemen-

tary to be dwelt upon here at any length, yet, nevertheless, might, with its many instances and illustrations, be made the subject of a most pleasing and popular lecture; and might, when once in thorough possession of the mechanic scholars, be subsequently turned into the instrument of many precious applications. It might be made, in fact, to neutralise, or to sweep away the most inflammatory of those topics wherewith the radical orator seeks to irritate the passions, and to enlist upon his side, the violence of the multitude—that multitude, of whom it has been well said by Talleyrand, that we have nothing to fear, if we but treat them with frankness; and over whom, so soon as we carry their reason and their sense of justice along with us, we are sure to gain a resistless ascendancy.

On the strength of this single doctrine, it will not be difficult to convince them, first, that in the scarcity of any article, when the supply is small, they are not properly the sellers, but the buyers who make the price. It is the competition of those who are in want of the commodity, and fear that they cannot get enough—it is this which is the efficient cause of its dearness. In the higglings of a market, it is often the seller who names the price, and hence the popular imagination that he makes it. But substantially the juster view of the case is, that the buyer offers the price. The dealer, in fact, would have sold it at a lower price to one customer, had not another customer, more urgent than he, been willing to give a higher price for it, rather than want it altogether. The odium

of the high price is cast upon the merchant, whereas, at each given state of the supply, it may be regarded as wholly the creation of the purchasers. He no doubt takes the highest price that he can get; but this is only saying that he takes the highest price which any buyer is willing to give, rather than suffer the inconvenience of wanting it. In other words, it goes to him who is most eager to obtain it; and, had it gone to another, or which is the same thing, had it sold at a rate beneath that market price to which it would be brought by the free and natural competition, it would have been an act of favouritism to one, but at the expense to another, of a sorer and heavier disappointment. The vender, in closing with the highest prices for his article, just sends it to those places where there is the most intense feeling of its necessity. The interest of the dealer is at one with the interest of the public; for, in taking the highest offer, he is just sending his commodity to the quarter where it is most needed and desired. It is thus that the streams of commerce are made to flow towards the places of greatest vacancy; and any violence by which this process is thwarted, for the relief of suffering and destitution in one place, must be at the expense, in another place, of a suffering still more intense, of a destitution still more grievous.

It is by a train of simple argumentations like these, that Smith's great lessons upon the corn trade might be still further extended and brought home to the popular understanding. They are all of them eminently fitted to allay the passion and prejudice of the working classes. They are not

the farmers, or the middlemen, who make the high prices in a year of scarcity. They are the purchasers, each intent upon his own share, and each labouring to outbid his fellows. This may not be ostensibly, but it can be easily demonstrated, even to the satisfaction of the most plebeian student, that this is virtually the process. It is not the growers, or carriers of the corn, who fix its price. They are the consumers of the corn: and to force the sale of it at a lower price than that at which the free operation of the market would settle it, is just to wrest the food of our land from those whose necessity is most urgent, and shift its direction to those whose necessity is less so. There cannot be a doubt that there would be more of acrimony and bad blood excited by such a restraining policy, than when the trade is left to its own spontaneousness. This surely is a lesson fitted to pacify, and not to exasperate. To expound a doctrine like this, is not to scatter mischief among the people. It would act, in truth, as an emollient upon their feelings. And whether it be the reasoning and reflective process, which, in a mechanic school, they might be made to undergo, or this conclusion of a sound political economy to which it carried them, there is not only wisdom, but the meekness of wisdom in them both.

But a still more important application of the elementary doctrine on the subject of prices, is, that when instead of a scarcity, there is the overabundance of any article, the low price to which it falls, may be regarded more properly as the deed of the sellers, than that of the buyers. All the

keenness of the competition, is transferred, in such a state of the market, from the latter to the former. The anxiety is now on the side, not of the customers to obtain goods, but of the traders to dispose of them. For this purpose, each tries to undersell his neighbour; and as in the first process, we saw that they were the consumers who made the ascent from one step to another, in the lifting up of price, so in the second process, we see that they are the venders who make the descent in the letting of it down. In a season of dearness, you cannot blame the merchant for taking the highest price which men will consent to give; and if blame in the matter attaches to any, it must be to the other party who offers it. In a season of cheapness, you cannot blame the purchaser for taking the article at the lowest terms on which he finds the seller willing to part with it. It is not his doing, but the doing of him who holds the commodity. It is thus that we cannot carry the pupils of this science, a very little way into the interior mechanism of trade, without reversing to their eye the first aspects of things; and we are persuaded, that in these very first, and in all their future advances in this philosophy, it will be found, at every step which is correctly taken, that the alliance is most intimate between the spread of philosophy in a nation, and the stability of its peace.

The exemplification of this last doctrine, in which the attendants of a mechanic school have the greatest interest, is that which regards the price of labour. It is not a tangible commodity, but liable to the same laws of variation in price, with every

other commodity which is brought to market, or which can be made in any way the subject of a bargain. It is exposed to the fluctuations of a greater or a less demand, and it might be furnished at a greater or less rate of supply. The labourers of our land are the sellers of this article; and it is virtually they who fix and determine the price of it. The buyers are those who employ them; and they are not to blame because of the miserable price which they give for labour, for this is the price at which the other party have offered it. The true cause, at any time, of a depression in the wages, or the price of labour, is not that masters have resolutely determined to give no more, but that servants have agreed to take so little. The infuriated operatives, instead of looking to capitalists as the cause of their distress, should look at one another. They would have greatly more reason, at a time of well-paid labour, to look to capitalists as the cause of their high wages, than to look to them as the cause of their low wages, at a time of ill-paid labour. In the one season, it is the overbidding of each other for labour, by the masters, which is the efficient cause of its high price. In the other season, it is the underselling of each other, by the labourers, which is the efficient cause of its low price. Whatever be the external complexion, this is the substantial character of these transactions; and this might easily be made to appear to the disciples of a popular economic course, among the foremost revelations of the science. It is a science, through the arcana of which, the ordinary attendants on a school of arts

are abundantly capable of being led, and we should confidently look for patience, and peace, and charity, as the practical fruits of it.

A master may require one additional workman, but may have no use whatever for two. Two, however, may offer themselves, whereof the first is willing to serve him for two shillings a-day, and the second, rather than be without employment, would thankfully agree for one shilling and sixpence. It is not the master's fault that he has hired in a labourer at this lower wage. It is the doing of the labourer himself, and not his doing. He would, in fact, have inflicted a sorer disappointment, by accepting the proposal of the first, and rejecting that of the second, than by closing as he has done, with the inferior offer. He would, at least, have withheld the employment from him who stood most urgently in need of it. He would have refused admittance to the man who, by the very terms of his proposal, made demonstration before him of the most abject necessity. There is odium cast upon the masters, in every season of depressed wages; but the truth is, that, did they reverse their proceedings, and acquiesce in the higher demand, while they rejected the lower offer, they might inflict a suffering still more grievous, and perhaps incur an odium still more implacable. It is felt as all the greater hardship, when one man's solicitation for work has been declined by the master, though upon more favourable terms, while another, upon terms less favourable for the master, has been preferred before him. It is not, in fact, the hard-hearted tyranny of masters which has brought down the

wages of workmen. It is the imploring cry of the most helpless among themselves, craving a participation with their fellows, and offering to be satisfied with a smaller share, rather than be outcasts altogether. The lowness of the wage is, in fact, all resolvible into the excess of their own numbers And, in every season of ill-paid work, the true character of the transaction between masters and workmen, is not that masters refuse to give a greater wage, but that workmen consent to take a less one.

There could, after this, be explained the cause of those periodic depressions which take place in the wages of manufacturing labour, and the way of averting it—even, as we have already stated, by an accumulated capital in the hands of workmen. And, even although the economical lecturer could point out no remedy for this state of things, there would be a salutary and pacific influence in his demonstration of the causes which produced it. It is well when workmen are convinced, that the low price of labour is not what they at first sight imagine, the doing of their proud oppressors; but the fruit of a necessity over which masters have no control. If wages were at the fiat of their employers, why are they ever permitted to rise at all, and often to treble at one time their amount at another? But these tides of fluctuation, at one time adverse, and at another favourable for one or other of the parties, are set agoing by different forces altogether from the arbitrary will of capitalists; and it must serve to disarm the hostility of the humbler, for the higher classes, when they are made to understand

that the ebbs and flows of a labourer's prosperity, depend upon the laws of a mechanism, for which their masters are as little responsible, as they are for the laws of the planetary system.

But what should make an acquaintance with political economy so valuable to the working classes, is, that a remedy can be pointed out. The low price of labour is as much the doing of the labourers themselves, as the low price of a commodity is the doing of the dealers, who, in the case of an excessive supply, undersell each other Their only relief is in the limitation of the supply; and there is positively no other permanent or effectual relief for the low wages of labour. All that combination can effect in this way, is but partial and temporary; and it is only by a lessening of the proportion between the number of labourers, and the demand for labour, that the working classes will ever find themselves on a stable and secure vantage-ground. They have no command over the second term of this proportion. They cannot increase the demand for labour. But they have a full command over the first. They can restrain the supply of labourers. A general conviction of this amongst our work-people would go far to tranquillize them. It would wean them, at least, from all vain and hopeless experiments. Even though they should despair of any immediate result from that expedient which is alone effectual; yet it is well for them to know that it is the only expedient, and that there is no other. It may at least keep them from idly or mischievously rambling in pursuit of other expedients; and, far better cor-

rective to that general restlessness of our mechanics and labourers, which of late has so alarmed us, than the force either of our statute or common law against combinations, would be the spread of an enlightened conviction among them of their total inefficacy.

But though no immediate effect on the wages of labour could accrue from any change in the habit of labourers, yet the effect would be far speedier than is generally counted upon. And this were one of the most important lessons that could be urged or expounded among the disciples of a mechanic school. It were not at all difficult to manifest to their understandings, that a very slight excess in the number of labourers, creates a very great reduction in the price of labour; and so conversely, that it may only require the lopping away of a very small excess to elevate, from a state of very sunken debasement, the condition of an overpeopled land. It would serve to remove from their minds the despair of any quick or great amelioration; when made to perceive on how minute a difference in the number of labourers, there turns a most momentous difference in the remuneration which is given to them. And if, in any manufacture, as in that of weaving for example, there should be a small overplus of hands, and so a great depression of wages, it is not by the instant and forcible exclusion of this overplus that the relief is arrived at. It may be obtained by a more quiet and gradual, but withal a very speedy operation. Simply, let the egress at the one end, of individuals from the general body of weavers,

by old age or death, not be so fully replaced as heretofore by the ingress of apprentices or new hands at the other. Let there be somewhat of a slackening in the annual supply; and this, in a few years, will lighten the competition for work, by at least some small yet sensible fraction of the sum total of operatives; a fraction which, though minute in itself, would be mighty in its consequences, and would tell with effect on the general circumstances of the whole body. This were the treatment by which the workmen, however low they may have fallen in any branch of trade, might be restored to a state of sufficiency and respect; and there is no other treatment by which we ever can accomplish any great or general ascent in the circumstances of a whole population. It is not by a sudden excision of the overplus that relief is arrived at. Even though a single year of emigration should take off the whole redundancy, a very slight increase of the births would speedily fill up again the room which had been left; and a land will always be peopled up to the degree at which its inhabitants hold existence to be tolerable. It were better that they aimed at something higher and more dignified than a barely tolerable existence; and so, that the population were kept considerably within the limits of its utmost possible extension. But this can only be done by the taste and habits of the people themselves; by a rise in their standard of enjoyment; by a consequent shifting forward in the average period of their marriages, and so a lighter progeny wherewith to burden and oppress the coming genera-

tion. And to accomplish a desirable change, so very great a stride, as some may apprehend, would not be indispensable, and far less any thing like a revolution in the customs of society. That very gradual refinement of soul, which might be achieved among the people by their now improving education; that small, though perhaps nearly insensible effect which this is calculated to have on the time of their entering upon families; and hence the almost imperceptibly fewer births that will take place in the country;—these are the sure, though simple means of that enlargement which we believe to be awaiting the peasantry of our land. A very small oscillation in the number of workmen, will produce a very great oscillation in their wages; and so when their translation is effected into a state of comfort and sufficiency which they have never yet experienced, this change, momentous as it is, will proceed in a way so gentle and so noiseless, that it may truly be said of it, "it cometh not with observation."

Now all this might be set forth with enough of clear and commanding evidence for the understandings of the common people. With all the incredulity which they feel about the philosophy of Malthus, they recognize the whole truth and application of it in particular trades; and when they combine, as they have often done, to limit and restrain the admission of apprentices into their own craft, they are just lending their testimony to the obnoxious theory of population. A smaller general population will supply fewer apprentices; and this favourite object of theirs, and which they

have tried to effectuate by forcible exclusions, can be rightly arrived at in no other way, than by that which the philosophy of Malthus has expounded. And here may be exposed with effect, the odious and unjust character of many of their combinations—in that, by dictating the number of apprentices, they are acting in the unfair and illiberal spirit of monopoly. They are quite vehement against the alleged tyranny of masters; yet, in this instance, they may well be charged with having become the tyrants and the oppressors themselves. They would enact corporation laws in their own favour; and, under the pretext of obtaining security against the aggression of their hostile employers, they would, in fact, by the restrictions which they propose upon the employment, commit an act of most glaring hostility against the families of all other workmen save their own. It is thus that each distinct trade would form itself into its own little oligarchy; and in no possible way could a system be devised more fatal to real liberty, and more full of annoyance to the general population. We are confident, that a lecturer of any talent at all might, upon this subject, carry the most crowded amphitheatre of plebeian scholars along with him. He might, in the first instance, gain their compliance with the whole of Smith's argument on the subject of free trade. He might enlist them on the side of competition, and make them partake in his own indignation against the hatefulness of monopoly. He might thus prepare his way for entering upon the subject of combinations; and, how-

ever fair or innocent he might allow them to be in themselves, yet, on the strength of such principles as he had just expounded, he might feel himself on high vantage ground for disarming them of all their evil, by denouncing whatever is wrong or mischievous in their practices. All the terror, and outrage, and forcible exclusion, which they have at any time directed, whether against new apprentices or workmen—the enormity of these he could make quite palpable to the popular understanding; and would, I am persuaded, be borne along on the tide of popular sympathy, when, in the midst of his applauding hearers, he lifted, against dictation in all its forms, the honest remonstrances of justice and liberty; and advocated the general rights of the population, whether against the now exploded oppressions of the statute-book, or the still sorer oppression of upstart and recently organized bodies among themselves. It is not through bearing down the passions by the force of law, but through forming and enlightening the principles of the commonalty by the force of instruction, that the present fermentations are to be allayed. And we despair not of the day when the science of political economy, instead of being dreaded as the instrument of a dangerous excitation, will be found, like all other truth, to be of powerful efficiency in stilling the violence of the people.

On this branch of the subject, there is one invaluable result, that might be obtained from the demonstrations of a lecturer; and that is, a conviction, on the part of his hearers, that pauperism

was in truth their worst enemy, though their enemy in disguise, and that it had a most depressing effect on the wages of labour, and the real comfort of the labourers.

After having discussed the causes which influence wages, the explanation of those causes which influence profits, would lead to another, and a most interesting branch of a popular course. And here it must be obvious, how easy it were, on the strength of a few plain and intelligible simplicities, to infuse, even into the hearts of workmen, a spirit of candour and of conciliation towards their employers. More particularly, could they be made to apprehend, how impossible it is, in a state of freedom, for profits to subsist, during any length of time, at a higher rate than they ought to do. When profits are high, capital accumulates; and when capital is accumulated, profits fall. Again, when, in virtue of some accidental influence, profits are very unequal, so as to be unreasonably high in one trade, there is, in a state of liberty, a rush of capital from all other trades, so as to bring all down to a general level. In this increase of capital, and competition of capitalists, labourers will at length be made to perceive that their security lies; and that, if they will only so far respect themselves, as that their high standard of enjoyment shall have the influence already explained, in restraining the increase of population, a high wage for work will be the inevitable consequence; and such a wage, as is alike independent, either of illegal enactments, or of illegal combinations. It would have been greatly more satisfying to us, had the legislature

not felt it necessary to assume even the semblance of hostility to the working classes. Certain it is, that no real hostility is felt; and that, even if it were, it would be wholly ineffectual. It could not depress the wages of labour a single farthing beneath the rate at which it would have settled, in virtue of those economic laws over which the government of a country has no control. Even though it were death by the law, for one labourer so much as to talk of wages to another; and though a universal espionage were to make the law as operative as it is barbarous; yet this could not bear down the elevating power upon wages, which lies in an accumulating capital upon the one hand, when it meets, upon the other, with a population restrained within right limits, by the prudential and moral habits of the individuals who compose it. The law against combinations is a *telum imbelle*, if its object be to depress wages; and it is only desirable, that workmen should be so far enlightened as to perceive this. Then would they leave it to repose in its own inefficiency; and, instead of going forth to the battle, either against their rulers or their employers, they would learn, that the sure road to victory was, for each quietly to betake himself to the virtues and the frugalities of private life.

It is thus that, without any effort, certainly without any combined effort, and without even their looking for it, there may, purely by a change of general habit, on the part of our workmen, be a gradual, but sure elevation, in the price of their labour. Capitalists cannot, though they would,

long realize an extravagant profit at the expense of wages. The same competition among labourers which brings down wages, operates also among capitalists, to bring down profit. What labourers have to do, is, to slacken the former competition, by keeping down the supply of labourers, and leave the latter competition to operate. Let them but restrain the increase of population, and then make their harvest of the increase of capital. Masters, however willing, have it not in their power to realize, for any time, an excess of profits to the prejudice of the servants; for excess of profit gives rise to the exuberance of capital, and so to a keener competition for more labourers. Other capitalists will plant themselves in their neighbourhood, and, either by outbidding, wrest from them their workmen, or force them to give a higher wage than before. There is no organization of labourers required to bring about this result—nothing, in fact, but that higher style of comfort and decency, which it is the effect both of Christian and common education to spread over the land. The foolish but impotent outbreakings of the last year will end in no permanent result whatever. A busy process of moral and mental culture, would, in a very few years, tell, and permanently tell, on the condition of our general peasantry. The market is overstocked with capital. Let not the advantages of this to the working classes be neutralized, by the market being also overstocked with labour. Then, instead of men seeking after masters, we shall have masters seeking after men. Instead of workmen underselling their labour, we shall have capi-

talists overbidding for it. For this blissful consummation, workmen do not need to step abroad and form themselves into grotesque committees, and frame laborious articles, and make their cunning inventions of sign and countersign. They will gain nothing by all this, so long as they suffer themselves to be oppressed by the weight of their own numbers. It is this, and not the tyranny of their masters, which oppresses them. Let them but relieve themselves of this, and they will carry their point without all that curious machinery of councils, and correspondence, and deputations, in which heretofore they have vainly imagined that their strength lay. They would not need, in fact, to call upon masters; for masters, overcharged with capital, and desirous of extending their works beyond the supply of workmen, would call upon them. Instead of turbulently meeting in the hall, or in the field, each might stay quietly at home, and at his own business; and the day of a coming enlargement to our labourers will not come one whit later, though they should leave the expedient of a combination for ever untried. There is no other way in which the tables can be turned between them and their masters; so that instead of workmen begging from capitalists for their employment, capitalists shall go a begging among workmen for their services. This we should rejoice in, as a consummation devoutly to be wished. It were a great economic revolution brought about by the peaceful operation of moral instruments. Labourers would share more equally with landholders and traders than before; insomuch, as

wages would bear a higher proportion, both to rent and to profit. The social fabric would still have its orders, and its gradations, and its blazing pinnacles. But it would present a more elevated basis. At least the ground floor would be higher, while, in the augmented worth and respectability of the people, it would have a far deeper and surer foundation.

One great object of a wisely conducted economic school, whose presiding spirit would be that of loyalty to the state, and love to the population, were to labour well the proposition, that it is not in the power of master manufacturers to realize, for any length of time, any undue advantage over their workmen. And here it might be well to expound the relation which there is between the profit of capital, and the interest of money, after which the fall of interest might be alleged as affording patent exhibition of the universal decline that has taken place in profits. This would lead to some other cause for any depression in the wages of operatives, than the extravagant gains of their employers; and would enable even the homeliest of the disciples to perceive, that they are deprived of the advantage which they might have gotten from the competition of a now greatly increased capital, just because it was outdone by the stronger competition of a still more greatly increased population. In other words, that it was an advantage of which the population had deprived themselves. At all events, the capitalists are quite innocent. They cannot help themselves as the labourers can. It is well for the spread of peace and charity among

the working classes, that they should be delivered from the false imagination that their masters are their oppressors. And it is further well for the spread among them of virtuous, and temperate, and elevated habits, that they should be thoroughly possessed with the true doctrine of wages; that they are themselves their own deadliest oppressors; and that, without the co-operation of their own moral endeavours, no benevolence on the part of the affluent, and no paternal kindness or care on the part of their rulers, can raise them from the degradation into which a reckless or unprincipled peasantry shall have fallen.

It is needless, at present, to inquire how much farther mechanics could be raised, in the scale of doctrine and information, on the subject of economical science. This would better be ascertained afterwards. But we are thoroughly persuaded, that the few elementary truths, along with their obvious and popular applications which we have now specified, could not only be received by the popular understanding, but would go far to dissipate all those crudities of imagination which excite the fiercest passions of the vulgar, and are, in fact, the chief elements of every popular effervescence. To make the multitude rational, we have only to treat them as if they were fit subjects for being discoursed with rationally. Now this, in reference to the great topics of misunderstanding between them and their employers, has scarcely ever yet been done; and the experiment remains to be made, of holding conference with the people on the great principles of that economic relation in

which they stand to the other orders of society. We anticipate nothing from such a process, but a milder and more manageable community; and feel confident, that the frankest explanations of the mechanic teacher would be received by his scholars in the spirit of kindness. He may be in no dread of the utmost explicitness, or lest those truths which bear severely either upon the sordidness or the violence of the people, should fall unwelcomely upon their ears. They will bear to be told both of the worthlessness of pauperism, and the gross injustice of those workmen who would infringe on the liberty of their fellows. Even those truths which go to vindicate their masters, and which look hardly or reproachfully upon the operatives, ought, in no way, to be withheld from them. We affirm, that reason will make any thing palatable to the lower orders; and, if only permitted to lift her voice in some cool place, as in the class-room of a school of arts, she will attain as firm authority over the popular mind, as she wields now within the walls of parliament. And political economy, the introduction of which into our popular courses has been so much deprecated, will be found to have pre-eminence over the other sciences, in acting as a sedative, and not as a stimulant to all sorts of turbulence and disorder. It will afford another example of the affinity which subsists between the cause of popular education, and that of public tranquillity. Of all the branches of that education, there is none which will contribute more to the quiescence of the multitude, than the one for whose admittance into our mechanic schools we are now

pleading. They will learn from it, what be the difficulties by which the condition of the working classes is straitened, and how impossible it is to obtain enlargement therefrom, while they labour under a redundancy of numbers. It will at least help to appease their discontent, when given to understand, that with this redundancy, any solid or stable amelioration of their circumstances is impracticable; and that, without this redundancy, the amelioration would follow of itself, and that, to bring this about, the countenance of legislators, and the combination of labourers, were alike unnecessary. The lessons of such an institution would be all on the side of sobriety and good order. They would at length see, that for the sufficiency of their own state themselves were alone responsible, and after bidding adieu to all their restlessness, they would be finally shut up to that way of peace and of prudence, by which, and by no other, they can reach a secure independence.

APPENDIX.

The following formed the original Preface to the Third Volume of the "Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns," which comprised the last eight chapters of the present work, "On the Christian and Economic Polity of a Nation."

(Written in 1826.)

NEARLY three years have now elapsed since the publication of the Second Volume of this work, during which time, circumstances have occurred, that have induced its Author somewhat to change the plan of the concluding Volume, and that have had the effect, furthermore, to retard, and he fears also, to enfeeble the execution of it. What he more particularly alludes to, is the recent history of those popular combinations, which have taken place all over the country, for a rise of wages. The truth is, that he had scarcely begun to investigate the connexion between a poor-rate, and the price of labour, when the latter of these two elements, although in a different connexion, became the subject of a most interesting practical treatment by Parliament on the one hand, and by the population on the other. He has long regarded it as one of the most mischievous effects of the English pauperism, that it depresses the wages of labour, and that beneath the rate of its own compensations; and, of course, as one of the chief blessings to society that would follow in the train of its abolition, that we should forthwith behold a better paid, as well as a better principled class of workmen than before. He has ever been on the side of a more liberal remuneration for industry. But when the people took this cause into their own hands, and proceeded to enforce it in their own peculiar way, he could not but regret, that a cause so worthy of the highest efforts, both of philanthropy and patriotism, should have been dishonoured by the outrage and the violence wherewith it was associated. He has not, therefore, stepped out of his course, in order to treat of combinations. The subject has been thrown across his path, and he must have turned aside if he had shunned the encounter with it. The workmen of England, have aggravated, by their own misconduct, the prejudices of the more affluent orders against the cause of their advancement in society. And it might serve to appease these prejudices of the wealthy, as well as to tranquillize the feelings, and to elevate the habits of the poor, if, instead of that way of turbulence which they have tried and found so ineffectual, they could be made to understand that more excellent way, upon which, without noise, or uproar, or rebellion, they might raise the comfort and the sufficiency of their own condition, and at length attain to a permanently higher status in the commonwealth.

In his management of this question, the Author feels that he

has laid himself open to two charges, which form nearly the opposite extremes of each other. The first is, that he has most unnecessarily expanded that part of his demonstration, which rests on the most obvious, and generally admitted principles of political economy; and thus subjected all his intelligent readers to the annoyance of a most wearisome reiteration, and that, too, with nothing better than the merest truisms of the science. All which he can plead in mitigation, is, that on every argument which stands related either to the virtue or comfort of the people at large, he would fain address himself to the popular understanding. He believes, that by a very direct and intelligible process, even our merest peasantry might be conducted from such notions as are the most elementary to such lessons as if practically observed by them, would both elevate and secure their economic condition in society. Any truth which is pregnant with such important application as this, cannot be too clearly expounded, or too closely approximated to the capacities of the yet uninitiated and unlearned. And should he be so fortunate as to gain the assent of the plebeian community, to those positions in which their welfare is mainly concerned, he will most gladly forego the sympathy of those philosophers, who can only breathe with delight among those heights of a loftier speculation, where the very obscurity in which they have enwrapt themselves, has served the two-fold purpose of mystifying their doctrine, and of magnifying their fame.

But the second charge that we apprehend is far more serious. It is not enough that the lower classes should be instructed in the way of their economic amelioration. There is a certain prevalent imagination among the higher classes, that the cheapness of British labour lies at the very foundation of our country's prosperity and strength. Now, in advocating the cause of a higher remuneration for industry, we have to combat this imagination. We have to turn from the plebeians to the patricians of our commonwealth; and in so doing, it will be said that we have made a transition from such puerilities as no student of political science needs to be told of, to such paradoxes as no student of political science can possibly admit. This applies more especially to all that we have said of the nearly instant resuscitation of capital; and of the limits, whether natural or artificial, to the extension of foreign trade. We regret not to have delivered ourselves more fully upon these two subjects, and particularly on the latter of them. Independently altogether of the truth or falsehood of our principles, it will be said, and with good reason, that if they be in any way fitted to startle or to perplex by their novelty, they should not be offered to the first notice of readers in a subsidiary capacity, or be employed to aid the solution of a great practical question, while themselves so questionable. We are sensible, that a separate and general treatise would, at their first introduction to the view of the public, have been a better place for them.

In adopting our present course, we have been obliged to relinquish the consideration of those institutions, or public charities, which are related either to crime or to disease; such as prisons and penitentiaries, along with asylums, infirmaries, and various other receptacles for that involuntary suffering, which is apart from general indigence. We are the more reconciled, however, to this omission, that in a former volume of this work,* we have stated that great principle which applies to the latter institutions, and which we could only have expounded at greater length, had we resumed the subject. In regard to the former institutions, we have to remark, that the whole system both of ecclesiastical and of economic polity which we have ventured to recommend, has a direct bearing upon crime, in so far as regards the prevention of it; and that, without depreciating the worth of that philanthropy which has selected for its object the right management of prisons, we hold this to be of very inferior moment to the right management of parishes. We deem it of more importance that the one subject shall be perfected, than that the other shall be entered upon; and that the present volume is more in harmony with the two former, because, instead of being an appendix on the right treatment of the outcast few, it is a continued pleading in behalf of those methods which the author conceives to be most effectual for enlightening the minds, and elevating the general condition, of the multitude.

There is one benefit that has resulted from this delay in the publication of the third volume. During the Author's suspension of his argument, experience, a far better schoolmaster than he, has been at work, and given a few more of its lessons, to which he defers, as greatly more valuable than any reasonings of his own. The condition of that experimental parish which he left in Glasgow upwards of two years ago, is, in regard to its pauperism, far more flourishing than ever. It is well that he ceased to have the conduct of that experiment, and that it passed into other hands. The truth is, that by every month of his continuance in that city, the delusion was becoming more inveterate; that while the prosperity of the operation could not be denied, still it was a prosperity which hung altogether upon the exertions and the influence of the individual who had introduced it. That spell, he trusts, is now conclusively broken; and most glad he is to understand, that the now proclaimed experience of his successor, has spread a more just and more extensive conviction upon this subject, than he could have achieved himself by the labours of a whole incumbency. On this subject we again challenge the whole host of sceptics or of enemies to the scheme, if they can substantiate one instance of jugglery in the practical administration of it. Its success has not been the result either of any collision, or of any extraordinary combination of circumstances, that could with difficulty be realized in other parishes. It is a

* See Vol. xv. p. 128.

scheme which seeks for itself no more than toleration; and depends for its prosperous result, not on that strenuous management among the office-bearers of a parish, which is rare, but on a natural operation among the families of a parish, which is universal,—an operation depending upon certain laws which are coextensive with the species, and stable as the constitution of humanity.

And here he must advert to the failure of that attempt, which was recently made in Parliament for the extension of this scheme to the country at large. Mr Kennedy, its author, evinced himself to have an enlightened acquaintance with the parochial management of the question; a management, truly, in which all the natural and essential principles of the problem are involved. The process defined by his bill, is the very process by which a parish can be most safely and surely conducted back again from a compulsory to a gratuitous system of pauperism. Yet it met with a general, and, for the time, an effective opposition in Scotland,—an opposition which might have been altogether saved, had the proposal been not for an imperative, but for a permissive law. The distinction between these two methods has been unfolded at some length, in a former chapter of this work, on the parliamentary treatment of the question of pauperism. There could have been no such array of resistance called forth by the enactment of a leave to any parishes that would, as by the enactment of a law, binding on all parishes, whether they would or would not. To force an innovation upon the land, is a very different measure from making that innovation free to all those districts of the land where a sufficient concurrence shall be obtained in its favour, and where a voluntary application shall be made for it on the part of the local and existing authorities. In the one way, there must be the reaction of a simultaneous and wide-spread hostility. In the other way, there is no provocative offered to the adverse feeling of the many, by a mere offer of liberty to the few who are not adverse. Had even only two or three of the border parishes of Scotland entered the retracing process under the shelter of a permissive law, this were a sufficient germ for the spread and final prevalence of the gratuitous system of charity throughout all our borders. The success of a few outset parishes would at length ensure the imitation of all the rest. The process would be strictly a tentative one. That change, which if compulsory and instantaneous, would be felt and dreaded all over the land, like the violence of any sweeping whirlwind, would, under such a permissive operation, go quietly forward from parish to parish, by a series of firm, because by a series of experimental stepping-stones. The old Scottish system, for it is utterly wrong to call it a new system, would recover place and confidence, just as it demonstrated its own efficacy in those parishes that had resumed it, under an act guarded and modified in the only way which could make such an act at all

tolerable. At every step of its progress, we are persuaded that it would stand more erect than before, in the pride and confidence of its vindicated honours; while all the brightness which it gathered on its path, would be, not from the meteoric light of theory, but the light of a sound, and sure, and sober experience. And it is not till, in the blaze of this experimental light, the truth had become so manifest as to overpower the convictions of all; not perhaps then, till after the lapse of one or two generations, should we expect those greater cities of our land to adopt in the permissive, that which they had rejected in the imperative form, or to open their gates for that system as a friend, the appearance of which, in the guise of an invader, had so promptly and so powerfully alarmed them.

It is thus that the soundest cause might sustain a temporary mischief, from circumstances for which it is not in any way responsible. And here we might advert to that discredit and derision which were incurred, in consequence of a glaring inaccuracy in the editing or printing of a former number of the *Edinburgh Review*. The Author of this volume contributed the whole of the first article in the 58th number of that work, on the causes and cure of pauperism, and the *first half* of the very short article which concludes that number. Its remaining half was appended to it, but not by him, nor was he at all aware of it till after the publication. It is in this appended part that there occurs a most provoking misstatement of the number of paupers in England, by which it is estimated at ten times greater an amount than it ought to be. This might have passed for a typographical error, had it only occurred once, as the statement was first made in figures, and could have been easily accounted for by the omission of a cypher. But then, in the next paragraph, it is again blazoned forth, not in figures, but in ordinary language; and proved most annoying to the Author at the time, from the grotesque character which it was fitted to stamp on the whole speculation wherewith it was associated. He did no more, however, than intimate the error to the celebrated editor of the journal, and publish a correction of it in one of the Glasgow newspapers.* It has since been commented upon with great severity in many pamphlets, and many periodicals. The slip is so very monstrous a one, that it might appear ridiculous to make it the subject of any grave explanation. But, of all men, it is most incumbent on the advocate of a controverted or obnoxious principle, to observe the most scrupulous accuracy in the facts and details of his argument; for his smallest inadvertency might furnish a triumph to the adversaries of a good cause, or give a colour to their most wicked and malignant imputations.

* The insertion appeared in the *Glasgow Herald* of Friday, May 1st, 1818, under the head or title of "*Edinburgh Review;*" and the following is that part of the insertion which relates to the error in question :—"Another extravagant error has been admitted into pages 500 and 501, on the same subject; where, for 9¼ paupers in each 10 of the population, it should have been printed 9¼ in each 100; and for nine-tenths, it should have been nine-hundredth parts."

GENERAL APPENDIX ON PAUPERISM.

I.—A Speech delivered on the 24th of May, 1822, before the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, Explanatory of the Measures which have been successfully pursued in St John's Parish, Glasgow, for the Extinction of its Compulsory Pauperism. With an Appendix.

II.—Statement in Regard to the Pauperism of Glasgow, from the Experience of the Last Eight Years.

III.—Evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons on the Subject of a Poor-Law for Ireland.

IV.—Reflections of 1839, on the now Protracted Experience of Pauperism in Glasgow—an Experience which began in 1815, and terminated in 1837.

APPENDIX TO No. I.

PREFACE.

THE following is rather an awkward sort of publication, from the egotism pervading a narrative, all of which, at the same time, behoved to be delivered; and still more, from that egotism, reaching even to the borders of an indelicacy, that was at the same time unavoidable, in the work of managing a hostile argument, which behoved to be refuted. But there are times when one feels himself imperatively called upon to break loose from every common-place restraint; and we trust that it may be deemed a sufficient apology for our authorship on this occasion, that we can plead for it, not the urgency of many friends, for the purpose of drawing out to an exhibition of himself an individual who was the object of their partiality,—but the urgency of many philanthropists, for the purpose of drawing out the attention of the community to a great public and political question, on the right solution of which, the well-being of our empire is at present so critically and so momentously suspended.

We have been engaged, for some time, in publishing a series of periodical Essays on the treatment of Pauperism; and to these alone, when completed, would we refer for the development of any such plans or principles as may have occurred to us. But, aware of the slow process of conviction, we gladly avail ourselves of any practical impulse by which it may be accelerated—nor do we know of any more fitted to arrest the notice, or secure the acquiescence of our Scottish population,

than that which emanates upon them from the voice of their Supreme Ecclesiastical Judicatory—and especially when that voice, unbroken by partizanship, expresses the unanimous sense and feeling of the General Assembly of our Church. Any elucidation that can be bestowed upon Pauperism, within the compass of a spoken address, must be necessarily imperfect; and therefore it is chiefly because of the venerable sanction wherewith it is associated, that we have ventured to obtrude it at this moment on the public eye. Nor, apart from such topics as are exclusively Christian, do we know upon what occasion the wholesome ascendancy of our church over our population can be more fitly or more usefully interposed, than when she lends her testimony against the spread of that moral nuisance in our land, by which the habits, and the character, and the whole economy of our sister nation have been so wofully deteriorated.

We anticipated a much longer discussion than what actually took place upon this subject in the General Assembly—nor are we able to conceive an opportunity more precious, than would thus have been offered, of treasuring up the prevalent impressions of the country, on a topic where reason, and sensibility, and the public interest, and the morality of the gospel, all appear to enter as so many warring elements into a question, which is yet far from having reached a satisfactory adjustment in general estimation. Never, perhaps, was there an argument where sound principles on the one hand, are met in such imposing array by specious plausibilities on the other,—and it was natural to expect, in the midst of so much collective intelligence, and feeling, and Christian philanthropy, as are brought together in the great annual representation of our church, that a vast deal could have been gathered from a con-

flict of minds and hearts, on that theme, to which, of all others, in the present conjuncture of affairs, both humanity and patriotism are most alive. It was under the foreboding of a protracted controversy on the matter to which it refers, that the author of the following short effusion, certainly meant to have recorded all that struck him as most interesting in the extemporaneous utterance of his brethren; and that, with the purpose of either correcting his own views upon pauperism—or rather, as he must acknowledge his convictions to be somewhat tenacious on this point, with the purpose of modifying every hostile affirmation, by what he deems to be the sound practice and philosophy of the question. It is certainly in so far gratifying, that he has been superseded in this intention, by the general and almost instantaneous acquiescence, of his revered ecclesiastical superiors, in the arrangement that he himself wanted for the supply of his poor. Still, there was a sufficient interval of doubt and of inquiry, to have enabled him to proceed a certain way in the enterprise, and come forth with a short specimen in an Appendix, of what he contemplated on that occasion. It would, if completed, have furnished him with the opportunity of meeting the most urgent objections to his own theory, in another form than that of abstract ratiocination; and perhaps to have brought the whole system into a broader and closer coalescence with the popular mind, than it is possible to do by any synthetic exposition of it from elementary principles, or even by any reasoning, though grounded on the clearest statements both of arithmetic and experience. Such, indeed, is his distrust in the efficacy of all formal argumentation on this matter, that rather than this, would he be present at any random colloquy of intelligent and sound-hearted men about

pauperism, where he might be permitted to seize on all the leading conceptions, that had been sent forth during the free play and interchange of sentiment between them—and to have evinced the experimental soundness of what he conceives to be the right theory, by evincing, as it were, the flexibility of its applications, to all the difficulties that might have been suggested, and the practical readiness wherewith it can suit itself to all the possible varieties of case and of circumstances which might be alleged in opposition to it.

In addition to this, the Appendix contains first Notes supplemental to, or illustrative of, the various positions advanced in the course of the Speech—and, lastly, concludes with a brief exposition of the way, in which the utter extinction of all compulsory pauperism in Scotland might be accomplished by means of its ecclesiastical system. The great practical importance of this latter object was, indeed, the consideration which had chief sway in the mind of the author, as he hesitated on the propriety of this publication. And he shall have fulfilled his aim to the uttermost extent, if the auxiliary argument wherewith he has endeavoured to recommend the multiplication of chapels or churches in our more populous parishes, shall give any impulse to a cause that stands associated with far higher interests than those which relate to the temporal economy and well-being of social life,—a cause that should be dear to every Christian bosom, on account of its bearings upon the concerns of human immortality—and which points to a still nobler emancipation for our city multitudes, than even from that pauperism that not only has brought degradation upon themselves, but also undoubted distress and privation upon their families.

A SPEECH DELIVERED ON THE 24TH OF MAY, 1822, BEFORE THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, EXPLANATORY OF THE MEASURES WHICH HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFULLY PURSUED IN ST JOHN'S PARISH, GLASGOW, FOR THE EXTINCTION OF ITS COMPULSORY PAUPERISM: WITH AN APPENDIX. (FIRST PRINTED IN 1822.)

THE argument set forth in my petition to the Presbytery of Glasgow, will, I think, be held decisive enough by itself, of the necessity that there is for a Chapel of Ease in the parish of St John's. A population of 8,000, with a church only capable of accommodating 1,640, make out a sufficient plea, I should imagine, for another edifice, and another labourer. But, there is a distinct and additional cause, which I beg shortly to explain to this venerable Court, and by which the necessities of my people have been greatly aggravated. So that, over and above all that is urged in the statement which has now been submitted to you, there do exist still weightier reasons for an earnest and imperative call, than any which appear in our written allegations.

My parishioners have not the benefit of this church accommodation. Agreeably to the general practice of all our large towns, the seats are held out indiscriminately to bidders from all quarters of the city. This I think to be wrong, and that

it ought to be remedied by the offer of a preference, in the first instance, for all the vacant room, to the residenters within the parish. But, such not being the habit of our city administrators, the result is, that in all our poorer parishes, the families are overborne by the competition of the wealthier and more favoured citizens of the place —insomuch, that, at the commencement of my labours in Glasgow, I had only one hearer for every 97 parishioners, which is in the proportion of not one hundred sitters in the parish church, out of all the inhabitants of a parish that contains upwards of 8,000 souls.

But this grievous deficiency is made up, it may be thought, by the free access which my people have to all the other churches. Not if they are poor. The interest which failed them of success in their applications for the church of their own parish, will not be of mighty avail to them in the competition for the church seats of other parishes: and, accordingly, by a survey of three years back, it appears, that of all these eight thousand, only seven hundred and ninety-nine individuals had seats in all the various churches of the Establishment, in Glasgow.

But it may be thought of this vast and dreary remainder of unprovided population, that they were sufficiently engrossed, and had enough of Christian tuition and discipline brought to bear upon their families by Dissenters. On this point, too, I am enabled to furnish you with precise authentical information. The total number of individuals, then, who, at that time, attended on

all the places of worship, put together, whether within or without the pale of our Establishment, were two thousand two hundred and ten. Now, though it appears, by this statement, that the Dissenters have very nearly a double attendance over the Establishment, yet in reference to the whole parish, there still lies a wide and a melancholy waste, that has not been overtaken,—for if you add, agreeably to the most approved principles of computation on this subject, the three eighths that ought to be at home, of the above number, still you have only a church-going population of three thousand five hundred and thirty-six—leaving, as ample materials for our proposed chapel, a still unreclaimed host of four thousand seven hundred and fifty-eight, who, if abandoned to their present habits of Sabbath profanation, will sorely retaliate the neglect by their week-day profligacy; and sure result of the irreligious atmosphere in which they at all times breathe, and to which the Christian's hallowed day brings no respite, and no intermission, will plebeian infidelity be every year taking deeper root among the people, and spreading wider the shadow of its dark and deadly foliage over them,—and to the weight of all those moral and political distempers which afflict our land, will it add the aggravation of its many crimes, and the burden of its ill-conditioned families.

It is a question altogether pertinent to the topic that now engages us, why has Dissenterism not been able to take up a greater number of these outcast families? Why has she fallen short of her aim, and left the vast majority beyond the pale of

spiritual cultivation? In this land of tolerance she can ply at will all the resources and all the energies which belong to her; and yet the heathenism of our people has not only stood its ground, but gathered into more colossal magnitude and strength, under the incessant play of all her moving forces, and all her flying artillery. There is a suburb domain of Glasgow of 27,000 people, which, bating a solitary chapel under the wings of our Establishment, they have had all to themselves, and we are sure, that over this whole extent they have not drawn above 3000 hearers—and many are the crowded vicinities that have formed each into a strong-hold of alienated families, which they have found to be impregnable. Whether, we ask, will it be the Church or the Sectaries that shall, at last, get possession of the hold; and with which of these two do the best spiritual tactics lie, for the best onset to assail and to carry it?

The might and the mastery of an Establishment, when brought to bear on such a mass of resistance as this, all hang on the superior efficacy of territorial cultivation. The Dissenter builds his chapel, and he draws hearers indiscriminately from all the places around; but drawing none save those who have a predisposition for what is sacred, he can only retard the degeneracy of his townsmen, but never, with his present processes, is he able to recall it. The Establishment builds its chapel also; but, besides this, it metes off a geographical vineyard to him who officiates therein; and it lies with himself to be in a very few months, a respected and a recognized functionary among all its tene-

ments; and without any romantic sacrifice of his time or of his ease, but just in the quiet and regular discharge of the assiduities of his office, among the ignorant, the sick, and the dying, will he be sure to find good welcome in every heart, and good-will in every home towards him. Now, it is by these week-day attentions among the people of his local territory, that he, at length, diffuses over the whole of this contiguous space an interest and a desire after his Sabbath ministrations; and gathers new recruits to his congregation from the most worthless of its families. It is just because the every-day movements of a minister through his parish, create among the parishioners a tendency to his church, that a priority of admittance for them should be an invariable principle in the rule of seat-letting. By adopting it as our rule in our constitution for a chapel, we have no doubt that its future minister will soon fill it to an overflow with family groupes, from the deep recesses, and the putrid alleys, and the now loathsome hovels of the district that is assigned to him,—and that all outlandish as is the present aspect of its still ungainly and untutored population; the pastor who lives and who labours there will soon be regaled by the greetings of a home-walk, and will soon surround himself with the breath and the blandness of a village economy.

But the principle of locality, when it leads to a territorial rule of seat-letting, is not only of use in adding to the amount of church-going; it is also of equal avail, when it leads to a parochial administration of poor's money in reducing the amount of

pauperism. Our proposed chapel will be built in a plebeian district, and, in virtue of one rule in its constitution, it is primarily designed for the accommodation of the resident plebeian families—and we have no doubt, that in the course of time, it will mainly be occupied by a local congregation. In best possible keeping with this, its peculiar condition, is another rule of its constitution, whereby we provide that its weekly collections shall be deposited with the kirk-treasurer of the parish, and be made exclusively applicable to the behoof of the parish poor. Opposed to this arrangement is the proposition, that these collections shall be deposited with the treasurer of a general fund, and be placed under a general administration, for behoof of the poor in the whole city. In advocating our own article, we shall have to prove the advantage of a separate and independent administration of pauperism for each parish, over a general administration for all the parishes—and in so doing, we shall have to submit a rather lengthened narrative of the plans that have recently been adopted in Glasgow for the management of the poor, and of the results that have flowed from them.

I remember that more than twenty years ago, when I attended the lectures of Professor Robison, among all the felicities of thought and of illustration in which he abounded, there was none which delighted me more at the time, or which has clung to me more tenaciously ever since, than one that he uttered when in the act of drawing a parallel between those two great branches of mathematical science, geometry and algebra. His taste and his

preference were altogether on the side of geometry; and that, because in the business of its demonstrations, the thinking principle is at all times in close exercise and contact with the quantities themselves. The lines, and the angles, and the surfaces, are never out of the mind's eye during the whole of the investigating process; and whether you know much of the mathematics or not, you can, at least, conceive how much more freshly and deliciously the understanding is regaled, when thus set to work immediately, and without the intervention of any artificial medium, on the realities of the question.

Now the same does not hold of algebra. The quantities are not in the eye of the mind, because removed and hidden therefrom under the veil of an arbitrary nomenclature. It is not with the things, but with the terms expressive of the things, that the mind has immediately to do. Instead of the understanding being employed on actual truths, or actual relations, it is rather the hand which is employed in shifting and shuffling among the hieroglyphics of a formula. It is thus that algebra, however powerful as an instrument of research, does not afford so satisfying an intellectual repast to its disciples as does geometry. Insomuch that the late Dr Gregory, who seems to have regarded with mortal aversion the very physiognomy of an algebraical page, came forth with the memorable saying, that algebra was an invention for enabling the mind to reason without thinking. And Professor Robison, than whom a truer philosophic spirit never graced the University of Edinburgh, has given us a deliverance upon this subject, which

is equally memorable; that he liked geometry better than algebra, because in the former the *ipsa corpora* of the question were present to the mind, and in the latter they were not present to it.

Now there are just two such ways of taking up and treating the question of pauperism, which admit of being similarly contrasted. The ipsa corpora of this great problem in political science lie seated and spread out before you among the population. They hold immediately on the familiar and ascertained elements of our nature; and you come to close quarters with them, when going forth on a parochial territory, you have to deal with the hearts, and the habits, and the whole economy of its families. It is in this way, that I have been permitted for upwards of two years and a half, to prosecute my designs for the extirpation of pauperism—placed in the very middle of its near and besetting realities; and these rendered greatly more urgent, and of course, greatly more stimulating, by the great vicissitudes which, within that period of time, have befallen our exclusively manufacturing population. There is nought of which all the while I have been more fearful, than any premature explosion, or an untimely interruption of the process, on the ground either of civil or ecclesiastical law—though, on that ground too, I deem myself invulnerable. The interruption, however, I have now most unexpectedly met with. An article of our constitution for a chapel of ease, copied in from models that had been previously sanctioned by this venerable Assembly, has been the spark to light up a controversy which, on the

present occasion, I most assuredly, did not anticipate; and a movement that was made, purely and exclusively for the religious interests of my people, has become the signal of an attempt to reland my parish in a system of pauperism that I hold to be deleterious. It is great consolation, however, that with all the recoil I feel from the stormy element of debate, and all the discomfort wherewith I breathe amid the agitations and the invectives of its turbid atmosphere, the tempest has not arisen till the harbour has been gained—the attack has not been made till the enterprise has been carried onwards to its satisfying termination—and one vessel, at least, laden with a rich harvest of experience, has been suffered to deposit its spoils in a place that is impregnable. There is one parish that has been thoroughly reclaimed from the legal charity of England—that has been conducted back again to the mild and peaceful administrations of our own better economy—and has now traversed the whole distance which lies between a state of compulsory pauperism, and the pauperism which is strictly Scottish, and Sessional, and altogether gratuitous.* It is well that the voyage has been finished ere this unlooked-for whirlwind arose; and in such circumstances too, as to prove that the voyage may, at any time, be repeated, and that, by every-day instruments and with every-day materials. It may now be seen, that instead of a

* If such was my confidence at the end of three years and a half, in the success of the experiment which had been made, how much more conclusive must I now regard it, when it has stood for eighteen years, or so long as the administrators of the pauperism of St John's chose to abide by it.

wild adventure only fit for the darings of a wild enthusiasm, there is not a city or country parish in Scotland which may not, if she will, find a most practicable opening, by which to rid herself of all contagious fellowship with that system, that now bows down, so oppressively, upon our sister nation; and that all the daring, and all the frenzy, which have been conceived to place this enterprise beyond the reach of imitation were only called for at the outset, when the matter was still untried, and the blasts of radicalism had, at one time, well nigh overwhelmed it. But now that the channel has been forced, and sounded, and explored, it may be obviously attempted by any vessel with ordinary pilotage, in ordinary times. And therefore, do with the first adventurer what you will—order him back again to the place from which he had departed—compel his bark out of its present secure and quiet landing-place—or let her be scuttled, if you so choose, and sunk to the bottom; still, not to magnify our doings but to illustrate them, we must remind you that the discovery survives the loss of the discovery ship; for, if discovery it must be called, the discovery has been made—a safe and easy navigation has been ascertained from the charity of law to the charity of kindness: and therefore be it now reviled, or be it now disregarded as it may, we have no doubt upon our spirits, whether we look to the depraving pauperism, or to the burdened agriculture of our land, that the days are soon coming when men, looking for a way of escape from these sore evils, will be glad to own our enterprise and be fain to follow it.

So much at present for the ipsa corpora of the problem—or as it lies spread out in diagram before you on the parochial territory. But, at the moment of its being translated from the parish to the Presbytery, at that moment did it pass from the state of an experimental to the state of a legal question; and then too, sheathed in the algebra of style and form ecclesiastic, did the ipsa corpora disappear from the field of vision altogether. I can scarcely recognise my old acquaintance pauperism, in the attire of new and strange phraseology wherewith they have invested her; and far more appalling to my imagination, than all the surds and symbols of algebra put together, are the mystic and unknown characters which some of my reverend brethren have graven upon her forehead. When met and confronted with pauperism on the geographical tablet of my own vineyard, I found nothing unmanageable, but that all went smoothly, and pleasantly, and prosperously forward; but when transferred from thence and laid on the table of the Presbytery, I felt, with Professor Robison, my inclinations to be all towards the ipsa corpora of the question. Even at the time when a clamorous and distressed population asserted their right to aliment on the principles of English law—and besieged, with angry remonstrance and manifesto, the houses of the clergymen—and sent in their whole columns of signatures, appended to written paragraphs of stout and sullen defiance—and, on the eve of our great radical explosion, plied the administrators of public charity with messages of no ambiguous import—and hung upon the question

of pauperism all the felt or fancied grievances which inflamed them—even then, was it not so difficult to acquit ourselves on the native arena of the question, as we now feel it unpleasant to have been dragged forward on the arena of our present controversy. And such is the superior comfort we feel in a close engagement of the understanding, with the naked elements of the question—that much rather would we hold parley, on this subject, with all the radical members of the population of Glasgow put together, than we would hold parley with but one or two refractory members of the Presbytery thereof.

But I must now pass on to our narrative of facts; nor would I have indulged to such length in preliminary matter, had it not been for the general and almost overwhelming impression that there is of the question of pauperism as being a question of exceeding difficulty. It is so in one sense of the term, and not at all so in the other. There is an all-important distinction here, between the natural, and what may be called the political difficulties of the question—between the difficulties which attach essentially to the problem, from the constitution of human nature and the mechanism of human society, and those wherewith, adventitiously, the problem is encumbered, from the weight of civil or municipal regulation that has been laid upon it—between the difficulties which be in the habits and circumstances of the poor, and the difficulties which be in the authority and practice of those who are the established functionaries for the poor. Now, what we affirm is, that the former class

of difficulties, which have their *locum standi* in the parish, vanish into nothing on the simple removal of certain artificial stimulants that have called the whole of our pauperism into being; and that the latter class of difficulties, which have their *locum standi* in the hall of deliberation, or debate, form the only obstacles to the requisite solution of the problem. You will at once perceive, that if there be any truth in these observations, they do most materially affect the philosophy of the subject. But what we chiefly want by pressing them home at this moment upon you is, that if you have any freedom at all to move between the extremes of the law in its rigour, and the law in its relaxation, you may be persuaded to take the side of relaxation, and not unnecessarily hamper the man whom you find to be honestly intent on the abolition of pauperism—that if you participate with him in his desire to sweep this moral nuisance away, you may look indulgently on the operation by which it has been expunged from more than a tenth part of the most populous city within the limits of our establishment—that you make the success of his enterprise atone for any deviations from strictest legalism, of which he, at the same time, is perfectly unconscious, though he doubts not, that to the jealous and microscopic eye of his adversaries in the question, they appear as monstrous, as they have alleged them to be manifold. And if there be space or latitude for such a connivance, surely it were better to tolerate, in some degree, that *brevi manu* style of proceeding, by which unquestionable good is to be achieved, than to clench

and perpetuate unquestionable evil, by either adding to the restraints, or tightening the harness of an artificial jurisprudence.

But I feel that I must be brief, and brief, too, on an argument under which I really stand before you burdened and oppressed with a sense of its unwieldiness. What might be expanded into a treatise, must be compressed within the limits of an oral delivery—and I do entreat the indulgent ear of this venerable Assembly, while, as rapidly as I can, I hurry through the most essential of those topics, which may serve to guide their arbitration on the point at issue.

And here let me make a distinction between the compulsory and the gratuitous pauperism of Glasgow. The former is that which is upheld by a levy; the latter is that which is upheld by a voluntary contribution. Our object is, if possible, to do away the former, and to demonstrate the sufficiency of the latter for all the fair and legitimate demands of the poor. But, for this purpose certain changes and amendments in the old system were indispensable—and to make you understand more distinctly the nature of these changes, let me first read to you the following extract, wherein an account is given of that complex and unwieldy apparatus of distribution, which wont to send forth all their supplies of aliment to the poor of our city.

"Each parish is divided into districts called proportions, over which an elder is appointed; whose business it is to receive from the people belonging to it, and who are induced to become paupers, their first applications for public relief.

The fund which principally arises from the free-will offerings that are collected weekly at the church doors of the different parishes, is kept distinct from the fund that arises out of the legal assessments; so that when any application was made to the elder from his district, he had to judge whether the case was of so light a nature, as that it could be met and provided for out of the first and smallest of these funds; or whether it was a case of such magnitude as justified the immediate transmission of it to the administrators of the second fund. It so happens, that excepting on rare occasions, the primary applications for relief, are brought upon the fund raised by collections, and therefore comes in the first instance, under the cognizance and control of the Kirk-Session of that parish, out of which the applications have arisen. So that generally at the first stage in the history of a pauper, he stands connected with the Kirk-Session to which he belongs, and is enrolled as one of their paupers, at the monthly allowance of from two to five shillings.

"It is here, however, proper to remark, that the different Kirk-Sessions did not retain their own proper collections, for a fund out of which they might issue their own proper disbursements; but that all the collections were thrown into one mass, subject to the control of a body of administrators, named the General Session, and made up of all the members of all the separate Sessions of the city. From this reservoir, thus fed by weekly parochial contributions, there issued back again such monthly supplies upon each subordinate Session, as the General Session judged to be

requisite, on such regard being had, as they were disposed to give to the number and necessities of those poor that were actually on the roll of each parish. So, that in as far as the administration of the voluntary fund for charity was concerned, it was conducted according to a system that had all the vices which we have already tried to enumerate, and the mischief of which was scarcely alleviated, by the occasional scrutinies that were made under the authority of the General Session, for the purpose of purifying and reducing the rolls of all that pauperism, which lay within the scope of their jurisdiction.

"But we have already stated, that even in the first instance, some cases occurred of more aggravated necessity and distress, than a Kirk-Session felt itself able for, or would venture to undertake. These were transmitted direct to the Town Hospital, a body vested with the administration of the compulsory fund, raised by legal assessment throughout the city, for the purpose of supplementing that revenue which is gathered at the church door, and which, with a few trifling additions from other sources, constitutes the sole public aliment of the poor, in the great majority of our Scottish parishes. There were only, however, a small number who found their way to the Town Hospital, without taking their middle passage to it by the Kirk-Session; so that the main host of that pauperism which made good its entry on the compulsory fund, came not directly and at once from the population, but through those parochial bodies of administration for the voluntary fund,

whose cases, as they either multiplied in number, or became more aggravated in kind, were transferred from their own rolls to those of this other institution. This transference took place when the largest sum awarded by the Session was deemed not sufficient for the pauper, who, as he became older, and more necessitous, was recommended for admittance on their ampler fund, to the weekly committee of the Town Hospital. So that each Session might have been regarded as having two doors —one of them a door of admittance from the population who stand at the margin of pauperism; and another of them, a door of egress to the Town Hospital, through which the occupiers of the outer court made their way to the inner temple. The Sessions, in fact, were the feeders or conductors by which the Town Hospital received its pauperism, that after lingering a while on this path of conveyance, was impelled onward to the farther extremity, and was at length thrust into the bosom of the wealthier institution, by the pressure that constantly accumulated behind it."*

Now, the compulsory pauperism of Glasgow, under this old style of it, just trebled its expenses in fifteen years. In 1803, the assessment for the poor, amounted to above three thousand pounds; in 1818, it approached to twelve thousand pounds, which added to the collections, made up about one half the expenditure of Manchester. We were

* This Extract is from No. XI. of "*The Christian and Economic Polity of a Nation*," and from which the reader will gather a far ampler demonstration of the evils attendant on the old system, than could possibly have been given in the course of an address to the General Assembly.

thus in sure and rapid career towards the corrupt and extravagant system of England—and after the attentive observation of three years, there was nothing of which I felt more intuitively certain, than that under the then existing economy of a general fund, and a general management, the case was utterly irremediable.

The evils of such a system are these. The more that you generalize the administration for the poor, the more does it stand before the eye of the population in the imposing characters of power and of magnitude; and the delusive confidence which they are thus led to place in its resources, is one of the main feeders of pauperism. And, again, the more also, in this way, do you widen the distance between the dispensers and the recipients of charity, adding thereby to the helplessness of the former, and giving far more advantageous scope and licence to the dexterity of the latter—and on this second principle, too, do you behold another and most copious feeder of pauperism. Or, if to escape the evil here, you have separate administrations, but all hanging on a common fund, then you relax the care and vigilance of the subordinate managers in the concern—for never is any business so well economised, when you can draw indefinitely for the expenses of it out of a large and general reservoir, as when its own peculiar charges must be defrayed out of its own peculiar resources. It was on these most obvious considerations, as sound, we trust, as they are simple, that I longed and laboured with all my might for the dissolution of all general funds, and general jurisdictions in city

pauperism; thoroughly persuaded, that with a very humble fraction of the old expenditure, the same thing could be better done under the economy of local and independent managements,—that, when once public charity stood divested of the glare and magnificence which had been thrown over it by the one stately institution; and broken down into separate and sessional administrations, it shrunk to the popular eye within the humble dimensions of a parish economy; and each distinct eldership had to labour closely and exclusively among their own people, with a fund of which they knew the limits, and, at the same time, had the independent disposal—why, under this new arrangement, which you will perceive to be in most entire accordancy with all the characteristics of Scottish pauperism, I did most surely and most sanguinely anticipate, that, in a very few years, we should get rid of the assessment altogether, and be conclusively delivered of an evil that has not only distempered the whole social economy of England; but might soon, amongst ourselves, have been the vitiating fountain of many moral and many political disorders.

With such views and principles as these, I held it to be indeed a most providential opening, when the new parish of St John's, to which the Magistrates and Council, did me the honour of granting the presentation, was erected in Glasgow—and not the less so, that it comprehended so large a population of operatives, as to constitute it one of the poorest and most plebeian of our city districts. They carried, I believe, in this appointment, a

prospective regard, as well as myself, to the establishment of a reform on the methods of our existing pauperism—but to prove how legally and constitutionally they went to work, they first, in the Deed of Erection, by the Lords of Session, acting as Commissioners of Teinds, obtained from them a clause, relating to the management of the poor, which fully authorized them to assign an independent management to the Kirk-Session of St John's.

It was after my appointment to the parish of St John's, that I wrote the following letter to the Lord Provost, on the subject of its pauperism:

Glasgow, Aug. 3d, 1819.

"My Lord,

"When I received the intimation of my appointment as Minister of St John's, it gave me sincere pleasure to be informed at the same time, that a letter written by myself to Mr Ewing, was read to the Magistrates and Council previous to my election, as it gave me the flattering assurance, that the leading objects adverted to, in that letter, met with the approbation of the Honourable Body over which your Lordship presides.

"In that letter I adverted to the wish I had long entertained, and which is publicly enough known by other channels, for a separate and independent management on the part of my Session, of the fund raised by collections at the Church door, and with which fund, I propose to take the management of all the existing Sessional poor

within our bounds, and so to meet the new applications for relief, as never to add to the general burden of the City by the ordinary poor of the parish of St John's.

"And I here beg it to be distinctly understood, that I do not consider the revenue of the Kirk-Session, to be at all applicable to those extraordinary cases, which are produced by any sudden and unlooked-for depression, in the state of our manufactures. Nor, if ever there shall be a call for pecuniary aid on this particular ground, do I undertake to provide for it out of our ordinary means, but will either meet it by a parochial subscription, or by taking a full share of any such general measure, as may be thought expedient under such an emergency.

"Your Lordship will not fail to observe, that if the new cases of ordinary pauperism, accumulate upon us in the rate at which they have done formerly, they would soon overtake our present collections. And yet my confidence in a successful result, is not at all founded on the expected magnitude of my future collections, but upon the care and attention with which the distribution of the fund will be conducted, a care and an attention, which I despair of ever being able to stimulate effectually, till I obtain an arrangement, by which my Session shall be left to square its own separate expenditure, by its own separate and peculiar resources.

"At the same time, I can also, with such an arrangement, stimulate more effectually than before, the liberality of my congregation; and with this

twofold advantage I am hopeful, not merely of being able to overtake the whole pauperism of St John's, but, of leaving a large surplus applicable to other objects, connected with the best interests of the population in that district of the city.

"What I propose to do with the surplus, is, to apply it as we are able, to the erection and endowment of Parochial Schools, for the purpose of meeting our people, not with gratuitous education, but with good education, on the same terms at which it is had in country parishes.

"My reason for troubling your Lordship with this intimation, is, that I require the sanction of the heritors of the parish, ere I can allocate any part of the sum raised by collections in this way. Without this sanction, I shall make no attempt to stimulate the liberality of my congregation, beyond what is barely necessary for the expenses of pauperism. With this sanction, I shall have the best of all arguments, by which to stimulate the liberality of my hearers and the care of my distributors, and (most important of all) the zealous co-operation even of the poorest among my people, who will easily be persuaded, to observe a moderation in their demands, when they find it stands associated with a cause so generally dear to them, as the education of their families.

"There is another object, which I shall not press immediately, but which your Lordship will perceive to be as necessary for the protection of the other parishes of Glasgow as of my own. And that is, that the law of residence shall take effect, between my parish and the other parishes of the

city. I am quite willing that every other parish shall have protection by this law, from the ingress of my poor, in return for the protection of my parish, from the ingress of theirs. It is practically the simplest of all things, to put this into operation from the very outset. But I mention it now, chiefly with a view to be enabled to remind your Lordship, when it comes to be applied for afterwards, that it is not because of any unlooked for embarrassment, that I make the application, but in pursuance of a right and necessary object, which even now, I have in full contemplation.

"I shall only conclude with assuring your Lordship, that nothing will give me greater pleasure, than to transmit, from time to time, the state of our progress in the parish of St John's, respecting all the objects alluded to in this communication; and that I hold myself subject to the same inspection and control from you, as the heritors of my parish, which the law assigns to the heritors of other parishes.

"A Deed of consent and approbation, relative to the various points that have now been submitted through your Lordship, to the Magistrates and Council, will very much oblige,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obliged and obedient Servant,

(Signed,) THOMAS CHALMERS."

Now it is the reply to this letter, of consent and approbation on the part of the Magistrates and Council of Glasgow, which I have all along acted

upon, with the feeling of its being a full constitutional warrant for doing all that I have done.

But here I must introduce to the notice of the venerable Court, another Body, designated by the name of the General Session, and composed of all the members of all the eight Kirk-Sessions in the city of Glasgow. The habit was to deposit all the collections at the eight respective churches, with the Treasurer of this Corporation, whence it emanated back again as from a fountain-head, on the existing parishes. But, when the additional parish of St John's was formed, and under the authority of its peculiar clause for the poor, in the Deed of Erection, the Magistrates, acting as heritors, authorized the minister thereof, to take upon himself the peculiar management of his own pauperism, did certain members of the General Session interpose, and laying claim to the same jurisdiction over the new parish, that they had all along exercised over the old ones, the question was stirred in a full assembly; and the result was, that they formally divested themselves of all authority over the administration of the money weekly collected at the church doors, in favour of a general body of management, into whose hands they were willing to resign all their wonted power of superintendence and control.

But this is not the final decision of the General Session. The matter was again taken up about a year afterwards. And by their very last deliverance on the topic, they abandon the recommendation of a general fund, and again finally denude themselves of all authority, in favour of that very

system of distinct parochial administrations, which is all that we contend for.*

By this time, I trust, you will now recognise the perfect legitimacy of this whole operation—that, more especially, it is not a lawless adventure, taken up gratuitously and at random, but with full approbation of all the authorities concerned—that, the parish from its birth was destined to the very independence for which it now has to struggle—and that nothing has been done with its church, nor proposed for its chapel, which is not the fair and natural development of that germ that the Honourable the Commissioners of Teinds deposited with their own hands among the earliest rudiments of its formation. To talk of me as having overleaped all the fences of legality, is an affirmation put to the blush by the narrative that I now have submitted to you—and from which it is most abundantly manifest, that I have all along acted on an original impulse, issuing from the highest fountain-head of law—that, in every step of the process I have had an approving magistracy to go along with me—and even now, when forced out to battle against this invasion on my parochial birth-

* The clause, in the Deed of Erection, relative to the poor of St John's—the Deed of authority to the Kirk-Session thereof, for an independent management of their own poor—both the Deeds of resignation by the General Session, together with certain recent extracts from the minutes of that Body, in proof that they now held themselves stript of all authority over the Kirk-Sessions of the city—these were fully read out in the hearing of the General Assembly. A complete account of the whole transaction, down, at least, to the original settlement of matters for the parish of St John's, is to be met with in Mr Cleland's Work on the "Public Institutions of Glasgow," from p. 206 to 216.

right, I am only fighting by their side,—And as to the General Session of Glasgow, the only high place from which the frown of hostility was ever known to descend upon our enterprise—such, at length, has been the deference they have rendered us, that not only to let us pass have they, by an act of civility, bowed themselves even unto the ground—but profounder homage still, have they, by an act of suicide, laid their authority and their honours in the bottom of a self-consigned grave. Figure our astonishment then, when from this deep receptacle we heard the spectre's hollow voice, and saw his cold and withering look at us; when a cry from the ashes of the dead offered to arrest our progress—or more appalling still, when from that domain of silence and of terror, there issued forth an avenging knighthood, with fell and uplifted arm, to inflict upon us their blow of annihilation.

The venerable Assembly is not merely a Court to be addressed and reasoned with on the principles of law—but we are quite sure, that you will not turn to us a deaf and listless ear, when we further offer to address you on the high interests of patriotism. We should like to obtain for our present treatment of pauperism, the high sanction of your most rightful and revered authority—and for this purpose, suffer us now to plead in behalf of the obnoxious article in our constitution for a chapel, the unquestionable good that is secured by it.

And here let me beg most earnestly, that you will give two distinct places in your understanding, to two things which are really distinct and distinguishable from each other—and by the mingling

of which into one confused mass of argument, a most obstinate and hitherto impracticable delusion has gotten its immoveable hold on the judgment of all my opponents in Glasgow—so that foiled again and again in my attempts for the dispersion of it, I have ceased very much to talk of pauperism—choosing rather quietly to do, than to lift up my voice in a wilderness. The two things which I most feelingly implore you to keep apart in your thoughts the one from the other, is the pauperism that has already been made, in any parish, under the old system; and the pauperism that is yet to make under the new, on the event of its being adopted. It is quite obvious, that in a few years, death will sweep away the now accumulated pauperism—and the question, therefore, as to the power of a new method in at length reducing this sore evil, or, perhaps, extinguishing it altogether, depends simply upon its fitness to meet the demands and to restrain the admissions of the new pauperism. I am for no act of violence done to any of the existing cases, no sudden or forcible reduction upon their comforts—but would rather, for the sake of gradualising the operation, and making a perfectly smooth and even-going process of it, see every now enrolled pauper to his grave, in the full sufficiency of all his wonted allowances. The jet of the operation, lies in the treatment and disposal of the new applicants. It may require a great fund to maintain the old pauperism; but as it dies away, the expense of it is in constant diminution, and by the sure and speedy operation of mortality, will, at length, vanish altogether. But, if along

with this process on the old pauperism, it should be found that with a very small fund one can meet and satisfy, or, at least, do justice to all the new applications, then after the last vestiges of the old system have all melted away, will it be succeeded by a humble and moderate economy, then standing upon its ruins.

Now the fund by assessments is just what I should look to for upholding the pauperism that is already formed, and the fund by collections the one wherewith I should undertake all the new applications—letting the assessments cease on the moment that the old pauperism has disappeared; and if the collections shall be found adequate to all the new cases, accomplishing in towns the restoration of a strictly Scottish pauperism, in the place of that by which our sister kingdom has been so distressed and so demoralized.

Thus then it is that I have all along met, though I have not been able as yet to overbear, the ceaseless cry, that my plan is not imitable, because of the unexampled magnitude of my collections. My collection consists of two parts—that which is given by the day congregation, assembled from all quarters of the city, and justly chargeable, I do admit, with the imputation of magnitude, amounting, as it does, to about £450—and that which is given by the evening congregation, distinct from the former, as being opened primarily for the accommodation of parishioners, whose humble halfpence afford me a yearly sum of £80. Now, let it be well and pointedly noticed, that it is with this evening collection, and it alone, that I perform the

essential step in the solution of this much perplexed and agitated problem. The day collection that has been so pertinaciously, and one would almost say, reproachfully urged, against me, has nothing to do with it. I allocate it to the support of the old pauperism, and have now relieved the fund by assessment of the whole weight of those cases that ever came upon it from the parish of St John's. In so doing, I have only anticipated, by a few years, the operation of death. That day collection, of which I have often been tempted to wish that it were out of the way altogether, as it has only served to darken and embarrass a spectacle, that might else have lighted up an instantaneous conviction in the minds of observers, is but a temporary phenomenon, and is only applied to the temporary purpose of relieving, by a few years sooner, that compulsory fund, which soon by the hand of death would have been relieved at any rate. But it is to the power of the evening collection, that we have to look for all that is interesting, or for all that is capable of wide and enduring application. It is at the place of concourse between the small parochial fund gathered from the parochial congregation on the one hand, and the new applicants from the parish that apply for parochial aid upon the other—it is there where the controversy is to be decided; and it is from the humble and unnoticed history of this administration, that we obtain the only satisfactory light on the question of pauperism. And, indeed, most satisfying it has been. For two years and a half we have, with the evening collection alone, rightly met all the

new cases, and rightly provided for them, and though its annual amount be £80 only, yet we have a surplus on hand of £65; and judging of the future from the past, and after having traversed the dreariest and most distressful period that ever occurred in the history of Glasgow, we all feel most proudly confident, that ere the new pauperism shall have overtaken the evening collection, the old pauperism shall all have disappeared—or, in other words, that the whole public charity of our plebeian district, shall be defrayed, to the last shilling of it, by plebeian offerings.

It might serve, perhaps, to simplify this exhibition, and to give you a more lucid and satisfying view of all that is essential in this process, just to suppose that there had never been any such day congregation as now attend us; and that the evening congregation, occupying their places, did, out of the same scanty offerings which they now give, only afford me the one collection of eighty pounds a-year. Instead of my present complex revenue, let it be imagined, for a moment, that I, just like the rest of my brethren in the city, had but one audience and one collection, but inferior to them all, had only £80 a-year, as the whole yearly amount of the money gathered at my church door. This would not have deterred me from entering upon the new system. Its only effect would have been that I could not, in such circumstances, undertake to relieve the assessment fund of any of that pauperism which, at present, lies upon it—but I would have had no hesitation in committing myself to the necessity of providing for all the new cases, and

leaving the compulsory fund to be gradually lightened of its whole burden, by the operation of death. This is precisely what we are now doing with our evening fund, and so with no other revenue than just a collection, equal to my humble parochial offerings, might any parish in the city be eventually cleared of all its compulsory pauperism.

The plan, in all its essential respects, is imitable, and accordingly has been imitated—first by the Outer Kirk parish, under Mr Marshall, and latterly by three more. The only difference between them and me is merely circumstantial. They give no such relief to the assessment fund as I am now doing, but this distinction is altogether of a temporary nature; for death will soon clear away all our old assessment cases, and leave, I have no doubt, in a few years, the one-half of Glasgow wholly delivered of its compulsory pauperism.*

It is curious to mark the gradation that obtains in the confidence of our various clergy, respecting the efficacy of what has been called the new system. First, certain of them, who have not adopted it, are quite sure that it is altogether a visionary speculation. Secondly, two of them, who have wealthy parishes at the fashionable end of the city, and who have adopted it, speak of it merely as an experiment that is worthy of a fair chance, but are not at all sanguine as to the result of it. Thirdly,

* At this point in the delivery of the Address, were read to the General Assembly extracts of letters, from certain of the Clergy of Glasgow, testifying the degrees of success wherewith they had hitherto conducted the management of their poor, independently of the assessments. These imitations have all been discontinued.

one, who has indisputably the poorest and most profligate district of Glasgow assigned to him, is quite confident of being able at length to carry it through, without any recourse upon the assessment. Fourthly, one, who was the first after St John's to strike off from the General Session, and set up a separate administration of his own, has, in his parish, which is also a plebeian one, been going on most triumphantly. And, lastly, as if to mark that the nearer you approach the actual territory on which lie the materials of the question, the more consistent and clear is the testimony of observers,—I can vouch, both for myself and for all who are engaged with me, that we have ever found pauperism to be frightful only when seen through the medium of distance, or by the alarmed eye of him who refuses to grapple with it—that, like every other bugbear, it shrinks on approaching it into small and manageable dimensions—that it vanishes almost into nothing before the touch of personal intercourse—that the habit of our labouring classes can be made almost instantly to coalesce with the kindlier intercourse, but, at the same time, the humbler and homelier allowances of a sessional administration—or, in one word, that in the worst of places, and the worst of times, the simple and parochial economy of our beloved land, is the best apparatus that can be raised for the substantial well-being of the poorest of her children.

You will now understand the tenderness that I feel about this one article in our constitution for a Chapel of Ease. When once it is raised, the evening congregation will be disbanded, and it is

presumed, that, chiefly out of their scattered fragments, an ordinary day congregation in the chapel will be formed—a chapel which may, at any time, by the will of our Magistrates, be transformed into a church, with its territorial district into a parish. At all events, its collection comes in place of that evening collection wherewith, as I have already explained to you, I am now achieving all that is essential in the problem of pauperism. With my present day collection, I am positively doing nothing but clearing away the rubbish of the old system. It is with the parochial collection now offered to us in the evening at church, and then to be offered through the day at the proposed chapel—it is with it, and with it alone, that I am building up my experimental demonstration of the specific virtue which lies in the old and unadulterated methods of our Scottish pauperism. Touch this collection then, and you touch the apple of mine eye. Absorb it in a general fund, and place it under a general management, and you wrest from my hand the only instrument I have for bringing about this great civic and economical reformation. What I want is, that this humble revenue, drawn from parishioners alone, and the humble administration of it, confined by a local and independent economy to parishioners alone, shall stand out in separate and distinct exhibition altogether, from the glare, and the tumult, and the bustling attendance, and the wealthy offerings of the general congregation. I want thus to disencumber the operation from all that has misled the popular eye, and thrown a disguise over the real

powers and principles of its internal mechanism. It will positively be beyond the endurance of human nerves, if, at this most critical and momentous of all turning points, that weekly offering shall be seized upon, wherewith, apart from all the might and magnificence that have been charged on the crowded church, and the high-sounding popularity, there may be raised a spectacle which, in the eye of truth and calm intelligence, is worthier than it all—even the modest and belfried edifice, where the plain services of Christianity are held in the midst of a plain and parochial congregation; and the adequacy of whose humble but willing contributions, to all the urgencies of the large manufacturing district wherewith they are associated, shall be a monument to the end of time, both of the wisdom and the sufficiency of our own original, and sound, and Scottish pauperism.

And you must be aware, that the General Assembly cannot of itself legislate on pauperism—that this is a question which affects the civil rights and interests of those who are concerned in it—and that if there be any thing wrong or defective in the constitution of a parish, relative to the matters of its poor, this must be submitted to the revision of another tribunal, ere the affair can be fully and finally adjusted.

Now suppose for a moment, that there is something civilly and constitutionally wrong in our present operations. We have no wish whatever to stand out against the awards of law—and at all times subject to its authority, we offer the entire and unconditional surrender of our sessional re-

venue into its hands. The General Assembly does not need to embarrass itself with this question, and all, in the mean time, that we supplicate at your hands is, that the collections at the chapel shall just be under the same disposal, and be applied generally to the same purpose, with the collections at the church—that as now the one is deposited with the Treasurer of our Kirk-Session, so the other shall be deposited with him also, and be expended at our discretion, subject of course to the control and inspection of the heritors, for behoof of our parish. Should the competent court afterwards assign a different application from this to the church offerings, let the chapel offerings be made to follow in the same direction—and with the enactment of some such clause, which will be abundantly satisfying to us, this venerable court will both maintain that delicate and dignified reserve which has ever characterised its proceedings, when it felt itself bordering on the department of civil law; and, at the same time, will avoid the monstrous anomaly of enacting one destination for the poors money of a parish church, and another destination for the poors money of a chapel belonging simply and exclusively to that parish.

To enact that the chapel collection shall go into a general fund, would be enacting for the city of Glasgow another constitution for its pauperism, than that which it at present enjoys. It would be the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, sitting in legislative authority over the civil and municipal arrangements of its Burghs. The thing is utterly incompetent—and I am persuaded of this

venerable body, that it will resist any attempt which may be made to enlist it upon the side, or to engage it in the squabbles of a partisanship, that is altogether local and temporary—and, further, I am quite sure, that it will never lend itself to such an outrageous act of injustice towards the parish of St John's, which still continues to pay its full share to the assessment fund, without drawing a single shilling out of it to the support of its families, as to thwart and overbear us in our attempts to improve our own condition, by means that are strictly constitutional, and out of capabilities which lie completely within ourselves.

And this is a subject on which I feel hopeful, that I shall not merely carry the convictions, but also propitiate the kindness of the Church of Scotland. For what is it after all that we are doing? Are we putting forth the sacrilegious hand of an innovator on the fabric of your venerable constitution? Any innovation of ours is but directed against the corruption of former innovators—it is to relieve the venerable pile of all those meretricious additions wherewith it has been overborne in latter days—and clearing away that modern disguise which had hidden from the public eye its brow of deep and revered antiquity, it is to cause the pure, the patriarchal economy of the olden time, to come forth again in the might of its wonted ascendancy over all the habits of all the population. And well may I speak of my bosom's pride in the establishment to which I belong—and well may I claim to be numbered among the most affectionate of her children, when I tell that the fondest of my earthly

ambitions, is to demonstrate the power, yet the peacefulness of her triumphs—and while the profoundest homage of the Christian minister is due to our venerable mother, because of the spiritual authority wherewith she is invested, to overawe and to repress the profligacy of our land, well may it be reckoned the next in worth and in dignity of her honours, that before the rebuke not of her severity, but of her persuasive kindness, she can chase away pauperism from all its dwelling-places. It is indeed a noble testimony to the ancients, and the counsellors who have gone before us, that, in the practical wisdom of our Scottish Kirk, there lies deposited a secret, which has baffled the whole political economy of our English Parliament—and that while the Legislature of our empire are now standing helpless and aghast at the sight of that sore leprosy which hath spread itself over their ten thousand parishes, the country in which we live, healthful and strong, in the yet unbroken habits of her peasantry, might, by the pure force of her moral and religious institutions, have kept herself untainted altogether, and is still able to retrace her footsteps, and to shake the pestilence away from all her borders.

NOTES TO APPENDIX No. I.

No. I.

Note 1. P. 146, l. 12.—It is fair to mention here, that the vacant sittings of St John's Church are now let on the understanding of a preference for parishioners. But it is obvious that this must tell very gradually on the congregation, of whom, meanwhile, the vast majority are extra-parochial.

Note 2. P. 147, l. 13.—We here proceed on the supposition, of five-eighths of the inhabitants of a city parish being the number that ought to be in church—leaving three-eighths at home, and so estimating the whole population who are provided for, by adding three-eighths to the number of sittings that are actually taken or occupied.

Note 3. P. 149, l. 28.—It is one of the most valuable properties of wise legislation, to reach its object with as little violence as possible done to the feelings of individuals; and with as little disturbance as possible inflicted on the existing order of things.

For the purpose of making this out, it will often wait a gradual process, rather than carry *per saltum*, or at once, the desired reformation. We know not a greater improvement in the ecclesiastical state of cities, than the substitution of local, instead of general congregations, in all the parish churches—and this might be arrived at immediately, by the dismissal of all extra-parochial sitters, and the offer of their places to parishioners. But this were a cruel disruption on the habits and attachments that have been already formed by the people of our existing generation—and, therefore, it were far better that the thing should only be arrived at ultimately, as the fruit of an invariable regulation, whereby a preference for the vacancies should be held out to parishioners, as they occurred from year to year, by removals or by deaths. In this way no violence is done to any man alive. The change comes round smoothly and progressively. We find that such vacancies do take place, at the rate of nearly a hundred annually, in a congregation of sixteen hundred. This is a very comfortable rate, at which a minister is permitted to extend his interest and connexion among the families of his parish—and he does well, if, in the course of a lengthened incumbency, he bequeaths to his successor an entirely parochial congregation.

But again, on the same principle, and to save from all injury the feelings of individuals, will legislation often be satisfied with

having reached its object in the main, though not in full and absolute entireness. For the sake of this, it will often put up with a small fractional deduction from the amount of good that is proposed—and so, in order that its processes shall go on smoothly, will it make a partial sacrifice of its own views, as well in the extent of reformation aimed at, as in the time of its accomplishment. It is for this reason, that, while by one article in the constitution of our chapel, we hold out a preference for the vacant sittings to the residenters within its district; we, by another article, provide that these sittings shall not be forfeited by the removal of those who occupy them to some other quarter of the town or neighbourhood, if they have a wish to retain them. It is well that the connexion has been formed at first, in virtue of residence within the privileged territory—but, should a strong attachment to the ministrations of the chapel be felt in consequence, it were hard, we think, on a mere change of residence, that the connexion in question should, therefore, be forcibly dissolved. It is true that, in this way, an exclusively local congregation can never be arrived at—but yet one so mainly and substantially local, as without violence to any, will secure to the clergyman a comfort and an efficacy in his duties, of which hitherto, in our large towns, there has been little or no experience.

The truth is, that both the fluctuation of city householders, and the effect of this fluctuation in defeating the great object of a parochial audience upon the Sabbath, have been greatly overrated. We are aware that some of our Elders, whose districts have a population of about three hundred, can allege a change of families, at particular terms, to the extent of more than a fifth part of the whole. But many of these removals are to contiguous streets, which are still within the limits of the parish—and besides, such a rate of fluctuation is only partial—so that in the whole parish, there is not certainly a greater emigration on any single year, than of one-tenth of the whole population.

But, far the most effective solution of this difficulty lies in the consideration, that, of this tenth who leave the parish in one year, the greater part consists of those who first entered the parish only on the year before. We have nothing to apprehend like the successive liftings of the separate tenths of the population on each distinct term—so as, in ten years, to lose all the old, and stock the parish with an entire set of new and strange families. The real state of the matter is, that a certain number of families, in every term, are constantly upon the wing, and alternate, almost every year, from one part of the city to another; so as to cause an unceasing vibratory movement over the heads of a stable and permanent population. It is of these last that the church or chapel congregation would, in the main, be ultimately formed—and with them, the great principle of territorial cultivation would be felt in the full power of its kindly and beneficent influences—and the week-day attention of the minister to these,

will be found of happiest effect, in reclaiming their Sabbath attendance upon him. Under such an arrangement, the ascendency of all our established clergy in towns would be inconceivably strengthened; and a far closer and kindlier relationship would, from that moment, ensue between them and their respective parishes: insomuch that, with all the deductions which it might be proper to make, we are not aware of any human device by which the ecclesiastical system of our cities would be more effectually renovated, than the simple enactment of that rule of parochial seat-letting which we have ventured to recommend.

The neglect of this arrangement has inflicted a sore paralysis on the Establishment in cities. It has slackened the relationship between each clergyman and his parish. It has taken the whole benefit of locality away from him; and brought him down, in respect of moral and Christian influence over the families, to the precise level of the dissenting ministers. The assignation of a territorial district to each chapel, with a rule of preference for the seats to all who live in it, we hold of mighty importance to all the new erections that are going forward. In this way they will become the instruments of a distinct reclaiming process on the outfield population that has been assigned to them. Otherwise, this population might still abide in a state of unmoved heathenism; and the chapel congregation, instead of being formed or recruited out of their families, will be drawn very much at the expense of previous congregations, from that class of the community whose habits of church-going are not only already established, but may be said to have been refined into fastidiousness; to whom change is luxury, and who, ever agog on the impulse of novelty, are, in fact, the deadliest adversaries of that territorial system, wherein the great strength of our Establishment lies. For these too, there may always be some room, even after the claims of locality have been fully recognised: for though the preference be to parishioners in the first instance, yet in so far as the preference is not taken, the seats may still be held out to the general public. For a fuller exposition of this topic, see No. III. of the Christian and Economic Polity of a Nation.

Note 4. P. 168, l. 2 —It must be confessed, that we now give salaries out of the day collection to our four schoolmasters, to the extent of a hundred pounds a-year; to the great benefit, certainly, of our parish poor, and along with them, of our whole parochial community, whose families are now provided with the best elementary education, at country rates. We have not yet obtained any express sanction from the Magistrates and Council of Glasgow, the sole Heritors of our parish, for such an application of the money gathered at our church-doors. And our only apology for such a freedom is—that whereas we have repeatedly announced from the pulpit such a destination to our weekly offerings, if found more than adequate to the pauperism of the

parish, and have, in consequence, stimulated the liberality of our congregation—we deem it quite legal to apply their contributions to the specific end for which they were solicited. We have no doubt of the legality of this destination on other grounds: but we fondly hope, for reasons which shall be urged presently, that any question on this subject will be superseded by a formal arrangement between the Heritors and Kirk-Session, making it quite competent to raise, from the overplus of the collections, a fund out of which shall emanate, in all time coming, the salaries of our parish schoolmasters.*

NOTE 5. P. 170, l. 18.—We are abundantly sensible that there are occasional passages in the Speech, which, however essential in the delivery, for the purpose of gaining a favourable decision, are not essential to the manifestation of our process, in regard to the management of pauperism, which is the great end of this publication. We allude more particularly to those few sentences which may appear to touch on the borders of personality, and which might certainly have been omitted without disadvantage to the argument. But the truth is, that they have been so distorted, and so aggravated in the printed reports of the business of the Assembly, as to make a correct exhibition of these alleged severities necessary in point of justice, both to the author, and to the subjects of them.

It can be no impeachment on our adversaries in this argument, that there should be a difference of understanding between them and us, about a matter on which there still exists so wide a diversity of opinion as pauperism; and it is all in fair and honourable warfare that they should have fought out this difference to the very last. More particularly, do we regard it as a thing of official propriety, that Principal Taylor would not quit the cause of an old institution till he had tried every chance for preserving it. He, as minister of the original parish in Glasgow, was entitled to feel a peculiar interest in this question; and while, certainly not more tenacious than he had a right to be of his own views in the public controversy, we gladly bear him witness, that, in all our private interviews we have met with nothing but the most perfect kindness and urbanity at his hands.

And, while offering this explanation, we cannot refrain from a testimony which we owe to the cordiality and good will that, with some very rare exceptions, we have ever experienced within the limits of our own parochial community.

A very few may have been misled in a season of great political delusion—and a few more may have mistaken the character and tendency of our endeavours against pauperism—and the many may have thus been influenced, under circumstances of peculiar urgency, to something like a public demonstration of

* The sum of £500, has been formally vested for this object in the hands of the City Corporation.

their wish for the compulsory provision of England, and of their hostility to that system by which our own country has been so long, and so happily characterized. But every one may know how easy it is to raise a temporary and artificial ferment throughout any assemblage of human beings, so as to call out a conventional exhibition of feeling, altogether diverse from that which meets our regards, when holding converse with families or individuals apart, we find them open to argument, and ready to enter on the fellowship of mutual explanations, with all the reason and right feeling of companionable men.

It is not from the warfare of formal meetings and formal manifestoes that we can gather the real character of a population, or acquire the right wisdom in the management of human nature. These are only to be gotten from that closer and more specific intercourse, which takes place during the treatment of particular cases, and the process of dealing with particular applications; and, often while so engaged, have we been reminded of an observation of Talleyrand's, that there is nothing formidable in the lower orders of society, if our intercourse with them be only conducted in frankness and honesty. The truth is, that it is upon their sympathies, one with another, that we would mainly devolve the solution of this whole difficulty—sympathies which are never wanting when they are not seduced from the exercise of them by the deceitful glare of public and proclaimed charity; and which, when restored to their natural play, amongst neighbours and kinsfolk, by the abolition of pauperism, will be sure to guide us ultimately forward unto a better served and better satisfied parish than before.

It is impossible, with such convictions as these, not to bear in our heart the utmost respect for the operative classes, and the utmost desire for all that is kind and conciliatory towards them. And sure we are that no feeling and no expression of cordiality towards them are ever thrown away. And it is indeed a strong prudential argument for committing the management of this concern to separate parochial jurisdictions, that, whereas, under a more general superintendence, there must necessarily be an unwieldier multitude to deal with, and a wider distance of misunderstanding and jealousy between the parties—so, under a sessional superintendence, the mass is not only broken down into more practicable fragments, but the very nearness and personality of the intercourse admits a more copious descent of those regards and courtesies upon humble life, which do away a thousand asperities from the popular mind, and serve as an oil to lubricate and uphold in kindlier movement the whole mechanism of human society.

Note 6. P. 175, l. 8.—We trust that enough has been said in the course of the speech, to disprove the very general impression, that the retracing movement, by which the parish of St John's

has been conducted from a state of compulsory, to a state of gratuitous pauperism, is not imitable in other parishes, because of the fancied magnitude of our resources. It will be seen, that all which can be alleged of extraordinary or unexampled magnitude in our sessional revenue, goes to no other purpose than the speedier liquidation of the old system by assessments—a liquidation which has now been accomplished in our parish, and which, but for the admission of new cases on the compulsory fund would, in other parishes, be accomplished in a few years by the operation of death. If the new cases then can all be intercepted by the gratuitous fund, as they have hitherto been with us by a very small fund—then, there is not a parish in Glasgow, and we shall add, not a city or country parish in Scotland, which has not means within itself, and that lie within reach of the purely ecclesiastical system of our land, for upholding all its pauperism on its weekly church offerings alone.

But there is another impression against the practicability of our method, than that of the unexampled magnitude of our parochial means—and that is, of the unexampled and inimitable strenuousness of our parochial management. It has often been alleged against us—that out of average and every day humanity, no such living apparatus can be raised of men embarked upon a cause, where the impulse of novelty, and the ambition of success, and the consciousness of many eyes turned in intense and eager scrutiny towards them, have altogether upholden them in a habit of activity and vigilance that cannot be looked for in other parishes.

Now this, if possible, is a greater and more groundless delusion than the other; and we rejoice that we can quote the testimonies of at least twenty competent and creditable men to its being a mere imagination. Each of the individuals who has been charged with the new pauperism of St John's can vouch for the perfect facility of his own separate district—though the average population of each be from three to four hundred, and some of the gentlemen have had a management of at least eight hundred laid upon them. The truth is, that even in the winter of 1819–1820, the trouble and time requisite for the business, did not amount to one-half of what was anticipated for the most ordinary seasons—and now that matters have sunk down into a state of quiescence, the office, when compared with what has been fancied or alleged of it, is in truth the veriest of all sinecures. Many of the agents have, no doubt, a pleasure in holding friendly intercourse with the families—but certain it is, that all the work of constraint or necessity, which is laid upon them by the demands of the people, creates no sensible infringement on their own private business. In the office now, there is felt all the comfort of a great emancipation from the harassments of the old system—where, additionally to the whole labour of treating with the population, one had to clear his way through the labyrinth of a

complex apparatus; and connected as he was with several bodies of management, had to waste his time in attendance on many meetings, and waste his strength on the fatigue of many controversies. All now is simple, and direct, and unencumbered as in a country parish—yet great as the relief is from the parochial and independent character of our present management, by which we stand disembarrassed of all the more general corporations in the place, the most precious effect of the whole management is, that we have thereby been landed in a far more easy and better satisfied population.

The truth is, that they, and not we, have the merit of resolving this problem. All that is done by the administrators is, to meet civilly, yet intelligently, every application—and, in the treatment of it, to give, on the one hand, every possible countenance to the industry of the people themselves, and the kindness of their relatives, or neighbours; and, on the other hand, every possible discountenance to idleness, or immorality, or the hardheartedness of kinsfolk. And in this way, each individual application may be more troublesome than under the old system—but then, the number of applications is greatly fewer than they were during the currency of its lax and careless administration. There is the forthputting of a greater strenuousness than before, on the cases that do come forward—but the preventive influence of this on the many new cases that are, in consequence, withheld, forms at once the compensation and the reward for this strenuousness. It all resolves itself into the efficacy which lies in a natural treatment of the people, who, when emancipated from the delusions of public charity, betake themselves to their own expedients; and find in the shifts, and the sympathies, and the numberless resources that do cast up throughout every assemblage of human beings, more than an equivalent for all which has been withdrawn from them.

So thoroughly, indeed, are we persuaded of the evil of public charity for the relief of indigence, that we should count it a heavy misfortune to a parish, if an annuity was granted to it for the purpose of being expended on this object. We should feel seriously embarrassed, and would deplore it as a great parochial calamity, were it rendered imperative on us to restrict the application of our day-offerings to pauperism alone. We should refuse the importation of any money for this purpose, from the other and the wealthier parishes of Glasgow. Humble as our expenditure on the new pauperism has been, we find that about one-half of it has been occasioned by cases of immorality, and the dissolution of relative ties—and should we be doomed to the cruel necessity of receiving a thousand a-year from any quarter whatever, and laying it openly out on the necessities of our population, we should only anticipate therefrom a greater number of exposed infants, and deserted families.

Still it may appear a mystery to the reader, why a parish

should be in better condition with a moderate, than with an ample public expenditure for the relief of indigence; and it may help to bring it down more plainly and familiarly to his conceptions, to come forward with a few historical instances, taken at random, from the management of our own parochial concerns.

1. The first case that occurs to us, is that of a weaver, who, though he had sixpence a-day as a pension, was certainly put into circumstances of difficulty, when two winters ago, in a season of great depression, the typhus fever made its deadly inroads upon his household. His distress was, in the highest degree, striking and noticeable: and it may, therefore, look strange that no sessional movement was made towards the relief of so afflicted a family. Our confidence was in the sympathies and kind offices of the immediate neighbourhood; and we felt quite assured that any interference of ours might have checked or superseded these to such a degree, as would have intercepted more of aid, than is ever granted by the most liberal and wealthiest of all our public institutions. An outcry, however, was raised against us—and we felt compelled, for our own vindication, to investigate as far as we could, the amount of supplies that had been rendered, and actually found that it exceeded, at least, ten times the whole sum that would have been allowed, in the given circumstances, out of the fund raised by assessment. It reconciled us the more to our new system, when given to understand, that the most liberal of all the benefactions was called forth by the simple information, that nothing had been done by any of the legal or parochial charities—nor did we meet with any thing more instructive in the course of these inquiries, than the obvious feeling of each contributor, that all he had given was so very insignificant. And it is just so, that the power of individual benevolence is greatly underrated. Each is aware how incommensurate his own offering is to the necessity in question, and would therefore, desiderate or demand a public administration of relief, else it is feared that nothing adequate has been done. He never thinks of that arithmetic by which it can be computed, that all the private offerings of himself and others, far outweigh that relief which, had it issued from the exchequer of a session or an almshouse, would have arrested those numerous rills of beneficence that are sure to flow in, upon every case of visible destitution or distress, from the surrounding vicinity.

2. Our next case is that of an aged person, who, disabled from his ordinary work, made repeated applications for parochial relief, which were as repeatedly evaded, on the knowledge that he had competent and respectable kinsfolk, of whom we felt assured that they only needed a fair and candid representation of the matter—and we have no doubt, that they did acquit themselves rightly of all their natural obligations. Was it wrong, we ask, to devolve the application on this quarter—and we appeal to the surviving relatives, now that the applicant is in his grave—

whether they do not look back with a truer satisfaction, than they would otherwise have felt, that a father and an uncle has been borne onward to the termination of his earthly career, in a style of independence which does honour to all the members of his family?

3. The next matter that is suggested to our remembrance, is that of an accidental visit to an old woman, and of the information she gave relative to the kindness of her next door neighbour, in whose presence she told that she had received a dinner from her for every day during the preceding month. Was it wrong to encourage and applaud this liberality; to assure the humble donor that she had been doing more for the object of her kindness, than the wealthiest Session of the city would have awarded her; and that were it not for the mutual kindness of the people among themselves, it were utterly impossible to carry on the management of the poor with any degree of comfort or efficacy? Is it not right that the people should be taught the importance of their own generosity—and does not the free and undisturbed exercise of this virtue add to the amount of parochial happiness, as well as to the amount of parochial morality?

4. A mother and daughter, the sole occupiers of a single apartment, were both afflicted with cancer, for which the one had to undergo an operation, while the other was so far gone as to be irrecoverable. A case so impressive as this, required only to be known that it might be met and provided for; and on the first warning of its necessity, a subscription could easily be raised, out of the unforced liberalities of those, who have been attracted from a distance, by the mere report of the circumstance having made its natural progress to their ears. And what then is it that suspends the necessity of such a measure?—the exuberant, and as yet untired kindness of those who are near, and whose willing contributions both of food, and of service, and of cordials, have lighted up a moral sunshine in this habitation of distress? Were it right that any legal charity, whatever, should arrest a process so beautiful? Were it even right that the interference of the wealthier at a distance, should lay a freezing interdict on the play of those lesser streams, which circulate around the abode of penury and pain? We want not to exonerate the rich from their full share in the burden of this world's philanthropy. But it is delightful to think that while, with their mightier gifts, an educational apparatus could be reared for good Christian tuition to the people, and good scholarship to their families, and so a barrier be set up against the profligacy of cities—there is meanwhile a spirit and a capability among the poor wherewith it is easy to ward off the scarcely inferior mischief of a corrupt and degrading pauperism.

5. Crime, that fertile source of pauperism, has exposed us to occasional demands, most of which have been reduced or disposed away from us by investigation. A person under sentence of

transportation, had left his infant daughter a likely burden on the parish. The application in its behalf was made by two aunts, when, on inquiry, it was found, first, that a pension, due to the father, could be fairly detained for the maintenance of the child; and, secondly, that the affection of its grandmother prompted her to offer this maintenance, on condition of being allowed the keeping and society of the child under her own roof. We just mention this as an instance, out of the many, of the power of patient investigation, in conducting us either to some resource, or to some right feeling, on which a necessity, that looked alarming at the outset, is at length done away.

6. We have given a few cases, taken from the short history of the sessional administration of St John's parish. A very fine example of the natural sufficiency that there is among the people, under even the most trying of domestic reverses, took place a few years anterior to our connexion with St John's. A family of six lost both parents by death. There were three children, unable to provide for themselves, and the other three were earning wages. On an impression that they were not able to maintain themselves, application was made by them, to their elder, for the admittance of the three youngest into the Town Hospital; where, at the average of in-door pensioners, their maintenance would have cost at least twenty pounds a-year. He remonstrated with them on the evil of thus breaking up the family —on the duty of the older, to see after the education and subsistence of the younger branches—and on the disgrace it would bring to them, by consigning their younger brothers and sisters to pauperism. He assured them, that they would find comparatively little difference, in the sum which it required to maintain them, when they all remained together; and offered them a small quarterly allowance, so long as they should feel it necessary, would they try the experiment of keeping together, and helping on each other to the best of their ability. They gave way to this right moral suasion, and application for the stipulated quarterly sum was only made twice. Thus, by a trifling expenditure, a sum, at least fifty-fold, was saved to the Town Hospital. But the worth of such management to the habit and condition of the family cannot be estimated in gold. Who is there that does not applaud the advice, and rejoice in the ultimate effect of it? We could hold no sympathy either with the heart or understanding of him who should censure such a style of proceeding—and our conceptions lie in an inverse order from his altogether, of the good, and the better, and the best, in the treatment of human nature.

The elder whom we have just alluded to has now stood nine years associated in this capacity, with a plebeian district of the town, that bears upon it a population of nearly four hundred. At the outset of his connexion with it, the number of sessional paupers amounted to ten. They are now reduced to one; which,

with the importation of one from another part of the city, make out the whole pauperism of this proportion to consist of only two individuals. He has not created any new pauperism in it since he first entered upon his functions—having found it quite easy, and at an expense that is altogether imperceptible, rightly, and most satisfactorily, to dispose otherwise of every application.

7. We have met with no one instance, during nearly these three years of our separate administration, out of which any thing like an argument could be drawn, for the practical necessity of a Town Hospital, or of any establishment that admitted in-door pensioners. There did, we understand, occur recently, in another parish of Glasgow, a case that might have alarmed a more indolent set of parochial rulers into the conclusion, that some supplementary or extraneous institution of this sort was quite indispensable. An aged and infirm female was ordered away from her tenement by its proprietor; and, on inquiry, it was found that there did not exist a single earthly relative, with whom she could be lodged. The patent way, in such circumstances, would have been to pass her to the Town Hospital, where she might have been received as one of the inmates. On making a round, however, amongst a few of the likeliest households in the vicinity, it was soon ascertained, that an old woman, the solitary occupier of a humble apartment, would willingly admit her to a place at her fire-side, and the shelter of her roof, for the very moderate allowance of sixpence a-week. Will any one say, that the very comfort of this poor and interesting person, was not more effectually consulted by an arrangement, that served to domesticate her in a neighbourhood, where she still found a harbour and a home on the field of general society—than, if transported thence, she had been doomed to breathe out the remainder of her days in the cheerless atmosphere, and among the unhappy exiles of a poor's house? And, meanwhile, it may serve, perhaps, to rectify our notions of the apprehended necessity that there is for a Town Hospital—when made to know that, out of a nearly operative population of fifteen thousand, there has not occurred, in one-half of them, a single instance of such necessity for about three years; and, in the other half, when there did occur, within the space of a twelvemonth, the threatening semblance of such a necessity, it was speedily dissipated by a few trifling inquiries. The friends and advocates of the parochial system were beginning to be a little fearful, from this solitary instance, of some mighty argument against their own favourite economy. But they were quieted again, on finding that, for sixpence a-week, they had purchased to themselves the entire benefit of a most decisive practical refutation.

Since we begun this narrative, some more examples have crowded upon our remembrance; but we should be in danger of becoming quite garrulous did we expatiate any further. The conclusion that we feel ourselves impelled to draw from the whole

is, that legal charity is injurious, and in no way essential to the well-being of any assembled population—that the extinction of it will instantly be followed up by the renovation of such habits among the lower orders, as are eminently productive both of comfort and virtue amongst them—and, that upon the removal of this hurtful excrescence from the body politic, there will speedily become apparent, not only a tone of greater healthfulness than before, but a far kindlier coalescence among all its members. The gratuitous and parochial will, at length, become the popular system; and, after it has lived down the many jealousies, and stood out the many hard speeches, wherewith now it is beset, among the ultra-politicians on either extreme of heated partizanship—will it, at length, be recognised as the only effectual instrument for bringing the rich and the poor into friendly approximation, and for harmonizing the now adverse elements of disdain on the one hand, and discontent on the other, into the permanent order of a tranquil and well-conditioned society.

We feel anxious to satisfy the reader, that the process which we have instituted for the extirpation of pauperism, in our own parish, is most perfectly imitable in all other parishes; and that with no other regime than that of nature and common sense, and no other treatment than a rational and respectful treatment of the population, there is no difficulty whatever in meeting the demands of human want, on the strength of such gratuitous means as may be drawn from the local territory within which it is situated.

And, of all the imitations which are now going forward, of this enterprise, in other places, there is none by which we are more gratified, or to which we look with a deeper and more engaged interest, than that which has been entered upon, with so much zeal and vigour, in the parish of Canongate. This populous suburb of Edinburgh contains, we understand, upwards of 10,000 inhabitants, and, till August last year, had the expenses of its pauperism defrayed, partly out of a compulsory, and partly out of the ordinary gratuitous fund; both of which were placed under the one administration of the Charity Workhouse. The Kirk-Session was mainly an organ of conveyance between the Charity Workhouse and the population; and the whole expenditure, under this system, was, in the year ending May, 1821, upwards of nine hundred pounds.

In the work of disengaging the gratuitous from the compulsory administration, this parish had not to contend with the same political difficulties which beset the commencement of our own undertaking. It had not to unwarp itself from any general or extended combination of parishes. It was not at all implicated in the system of Edinburgh. It stood independent and alone within itself; and all that was necessary to set up a pure Scottish economy in the midst of it was, that its own two bodies, the Kirk-Session and the Managers of the Charity Workhouse, should

be brought to a common understanding. They were thus relieved of the endless conflicts and complexities which are attendant on the business of taking down an old and very intricate apparatus; and when once the arrangement was concurred in, by which the Kirk-Session was vested with the sole and independent disposal of the Sessional revenue, the only remaining struggle was with those natural difficulties which lie in the management of the actual cases—in the treatment of the poor themselves.

The terms of the understanding appear to have been most distinct and reasonable; that the Session should assume the entire management of its own revenue, relieve the Workhouse of all its out-pensioners, and further, charge itself with all the new cases that should be offered from the population. At this rate, it is obvious that the assessment will expire with the dying away of the in-pensioners, and the payment of any debts that may have been contracted by the Workhouse. Should the experiment succeed, then will the Canongate pauperism, which now costs upwards of £900, be defrayed by a Sessional revenue that does not now amount to £400; thereby accomplishing a reformation, the value of which is not to be estimated by the mere difference between these two sums, but by the arrest that is thus decisively laid on a growing mischief, which carries in its womb the principles of its own acceleration, and bears still more deleteriously on the lower than it does oppressively on the higher orders of society.

They have not yet had a long trial of their new mode of proceeding. But it argues well for their ultimate success, that what with their scrutiny of the old cases, and their care in the admission of new ones, the number of paupers in the hands of the Kirk-Session has not only not increased beyond what they took in at first from the Charity Workhouse, but has even fallen from ninety-three to seventy-seven. They have, of course, kept by their original agreement of sending no new cases to the Workhouse; but, as if this were not enough of itself, to evince the power and productiveness of a Sessional management, they have, by an act of supererogation, which few, in the infancy of such an undertaking, would have dared to imitate, given, out of their first year's income, no less than £115 to the Charity Workhouse, towards the speedier liquidation of its debts. And, on the other hand, the management of this last seems to be equally prosperous; for, relieved as it now is by the Session, from the influx of new cases, it has, by deaths, and dismissals, and voluntary resignations, and the disposal of cases out of doors, reduced its number of in-pensioners from eighty-nine to forty-two. The object which appears to be aimed at is, as speedily as possible, to translate all their paupers into the condition of out-pensioners; a far more natural and comfortable state, certainly, for them—after which, a house, with its establishment, might be dispensed with altogether; and thereby a great saving of money be effected,

none of which goes, in a personal or direct way, to the benefit of the poor themselves.

We have no doubt on our minds, that, with a perseverance in this career of true benevolence, their point will be carried; and a most impressive example be held out to the country of the cure of pauperism. We know not, out of Glasgow, where such another decisive *experimentum crucis* could be made, as in the Canongate of Edinburgh; and we are sure that it will be a most gratifying reward, both to the respectable ministers, and other official men of that parish—if, as the fruit of a cordiality and co-operation, which are but too rare among public bodies, the managers of the Workhouse, on the one hand, with the members of Session, on the other, shall, each labouring in their assigned places, at length succeed in clearing away, from the domain of their joint superintendence, that sore nuisance, which is at once the bane and the burden of England.

It says much both for the Directors of the Town-Hospital of Glasgow, and the Charity Workhouse of the Canongate, that, without jealousy, or any offended sense of importance, they lend their willing concurrence to a measure, the final success of which consists in their own official annihilation. We deem it a nobler sacrifice to their country's good than any of which we read in Greek or in Roman story. Honour is dearer to many than existence; and sooner would they consent to the destruction of the person they wear, than to the destruction of the place they occupy. The latter therefore is, of the two, the higher votive offering at the shrine of patriotism.*

No. II.

We can figure nothing more instructive than the extemporaneous argument and remark of such an enlightened body of men as the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, on the interesting topics of the popular habit, and the popular necessity, both as to church-going and pauperism. The unanimity of the venerable court on the first of these topics, and the very slight and momentary resistance that was offered to our expositions on the second of them, have abridged very much the benefit that we had before anticipated from this stage of the proceedings.

The ecclesiastical part of the constitution for the various chapels, was all, in fact, conclusively arranged in the committees, and not at all stirred or questioned about, in the Assembly. It

* But on this subject see the conclusion of the extract from Mr Tufnell's Report given in a subsequent part of this volume; and more especially the quotation from Sir John Sinclair's Analysis of his Statistical Account of Scotland, published in 1826.

was remarked, by one of the members of Committee, that the regulation by which the sittings in the chapel were not to be forfeited by a removal of the occupier, beyond the confines of its territorial district, appeared to nullify the preference that was given for the vacant places, to those who resided within these confines. This is a natural impression, on the instant that the matter is first offered to one's contemplation, and we have frequently met with it. For our vindication of the article, notwithstanding, we refer to Note 3, of No. I. of the Appendix.

The Committee improved that article which provided for the minister's salary, by providing an eventual security for its being raised from £150 to £200 a-year. We should like if the state of the attendance were to warrant a much larger emolument; nor do we despair of its at length doing so. We should feel inclined, however, to make the discretionary augmentation of his living depend, not on the success wherewith he fills the chapel from all quarters of the city, but on the extent at which he recruits and has formed his congregation out of the local vicinity that has been assigned to him. The temptation with a man of acceptable pulpit qualifications is, that he might feel satisfied if he can merely draw a full and crowded auditory, even though it should be at the expense of previous congregations; and therefore, without any accession of Christian good to the place, or any distinct and special blessing on the families of his own territory. It would multiply his usefulness ten-fold, if, on the office of minister to the chapel, there could be grafted the office of missionary to the alienated population around it. Every possible inducement should be held out to the habit of localizing his visits and his examinations among them: and it is just the parochial character of his sabbath congregation which serves, at once, as the indication and the trophy of his week-day laboriousness.

We are quite sure that we express the unanimous feeling of all the gentlemen who had to negotiate the business of chapels at the last Assembly, when we say, that nothing could exceed the pains, and the patience, and the perfect cordiality wherewith all the details were modified, and arranged in the various committees—nor are we aware of any better title on which the supreme court can earn the gratitude of the country, than the ready patronage that has thus been awarded by it, to such measures as bear on the religious welfare of our population.

In the Assembly we had to sustain a few interrogations on pauperism, which served, in some degree, to mark the most urgent and prevailing impressions that are upon this topic. The question relative to the disposal of the accumulated surplus, is the one in which we feel most desirous to carry the sense and acquiescence of the public mind along with us—because, if the application of every such surplus must be restricted to the mere subsisting of human indigence, we see not how a complete and conclusive deliverance from the evils of pauperism can ever be arrived

at—whereas, if made applicable to other objects connected both with the good of the poor, and the general interest of the community, we see a cheering and most beautiful walk of philanthropy instantly opened to us.

We, in the first place, hold the most plebeian of all our parishes to be adequate, on its own resources, to the maintenance of its own poor; and that after the retracing movement, which we have endeavoured to point out, has been completed, it will be landed in a better condition than that which it has been made to emerge from.

But again, and agreeably to this, we further conceive, that any sum imported to such a parish, for public charity, from abroad, would put it into a worse condition than it would naturally assume, on being left to its own separate management and separate capabilities—that, as an example, it were better both for the comfort and *morale* of the Canongate, if, with its own sessional means, it had to meet its own pauperism, than if these means were augmented out of the surplus collection of St George's—and, for ourselves, we should certainly decline the offer of any such foreign aid, as fitted both to slacken the care of our parochial administrators, and to deaden the sympathies, and the economies of our parochial population.

And, thirdly, if the surplus of revenue in the wealthier parishes of a city, is to be transferred for the relief of indigence to the poorer parishes, this necessarily calls for a body of superintendence, that shall preside over the distribution of it. And so it becomes unavoidable, that the town shall again be landed in a general management—and that all the advantages of the strictly parochial system shall be again foregone—and that all the laxity of administration, on the one hand, and all the delusive imagination, on the other, which are quite inseparable from a bulky superintendence, shall be again entailed upon the community. So that we despair of any effectual reformation in the pauperism of cities, which does not proceed on the sufficiency even in the poorest districts of the parochial resources, under a strict parochial regimen, for all that ought to be publicly done towards the relief of indigence.

The question then recurs—if there is a surplus of collections in any parish after the demands of its indigence have been met—how ought it to be disposed of? We rejoice, that in as far as the sentence of the General Assembly possesses any authority upon this subject—the disposal of the collections lies at the joint option of the Heritors and Kirk-Session. It ought never, on this account, to be alienated from the interests of the population; and, therefore, do we regard it as the fittest application that can possibly be made of this surplus, to expend it, in the first instance, on the erection and endowment of parochial schools, for a cheap and good education to the parochial families.

But the parish of largest surplus, may stand least in need of

any such provision for the scholarship of its children—and if not to be applied for the indigence of other parishes, is it therefore to lie idle and unoccupied, or must the liberality of the congregation be deadened, for the purpose of keeping down an inconvenient excess? No: It may, on the joint resolution of its Heritors and Session, be applied to the education of other parishes. The wealthier extreme of the city may send forth a tide of munificence, not to feed, but to undermine the pauperism of its operative districts—there, to rear in schools, or even in chapels, a moral apparatus, wherewith to tutor into loftier independence, the coming generation, and out of the hearts and habits of a more Christianised people, to build up an everlasting barrier against the inroads of a system, which carries vice, and degradation, and wretchedness along with it.

It is thus, that after the old pauperism has all been liquidated, and the poorer parishes have been left, as to the public relief of indigence, to manage and to provide for themselves—it is thus, that a right outlet may be found for the liberality of all the affluent congregations; from which there might issue forth a stream of healing water, to the remotest outskirts of a now corrupt and neglected population. This were, for many years, a befitting absorbent to all the surplus collections throughout a city—and with such an application for them, instead of acting like oil upon a flame, or nourishing, as they now do, that sore distemper which nought but a process of amputation will ever do away, they will neutralize the first elements of pauperism, by stifling them in embryo, on the soil of the popular character. With so high a destination for the Sabbath offerings, there would a spirit and alacrity be given to the benevolence that prompts them. For example, we know not how a more effectual impulse could be devised for the charity of those polite and wealthy congregations that assemble in the St George and St Andrew's of Edinburgh, than by making it subserve the endowment of schools in the Cowgate, or the extension of a village economy in the Grassmarket. We see not how, after the overthrow of the present system, the rich could better acquit themselves of the claims that destitute humanity has upon the bounty and beneficence of the higher orders. Nor, does it follow that the naked would cease to be clothed, or the hungry to be fed by them. Let hateful and heterogeneous legality be once detached from these ministrations—let that which ought ever to have been a question of spontaneous kindness, cease henceforth to be a question of right—let the cause of indigence, instead of being carried to our courts of justice, be fearlessly devolved on the compassion and unforced sympathies of nature—let but that transverse movement be rectified, whereby a matter of feeling has been turned into a matter of obligation, and fierce litigation has made its stormy inroads on a province which gratitude and good-will alone ought to have occupied—let every right thing that should be done amongst human beings, be sus-

pended on the right and appropriate principle that has been implanted in our constitution, to stimulate the doing of it—let the payment of debts, and the fulfilment of bargains, be laid upon the sense of equity in our bosoms, and the succour of distress be laid on that pity which, when unruffled by the din of claims, or controversies, is ever awake to her imploring voice—and when nature is thus relieved of the strain wherewith, in the excess of jurisprudence, it has been so sadly overborne, it will break forth at large over the whole domain of human suffering: The rich and the poor will again meet in confidence together—and that field, which by one blunder of our legislature, has been strangely transformed into an arena of outcry and debate, will again be refreshed, by the growth of those free-born charities, that are fully adequate of themselves to all the needs and all the exigencies of our species.

It was on these principles, that when asked how we meant to dispose of the surplus revenue of the Kirk-Session of St John's, our reply was, that we wished to allocate it to the endowment of parochial schools, for the sake of cheap and good education to the families of the parish.

In the speech of Principal Taylor, we could observe such a substantial agreement between him and ourselves on some of the more important principles of the question, that we will not despair of at length obtaining his most desirable and valuable concurrence in the parochial system. He doubts whether the collections be applicable to any other object than the relief of indigence. But this might be postponed as an ulterior question, the settlement of which is not essential at the beginning of a separate and sessional administration. And he thinks it impracticable to enforce a law of residence amongst the parishes of Glasgow. Neither is this indispensable at the outset—though we do not apprehend greater difficulties in the practical observation of it, than such as we have daily experience of in the movements that are ever taking place between the city and its suburb parishes. We should certainly feel relieved by such a law, for our imports from the pauperism of Glasgow have exceeded considerably the exports that have been made from our own pauperism. We most cordially admit the truth of his observation, that the poor shall never cease out of the land—and just for the purpose of reaching these poor with a kindlier and better ministration, we should like to have pauperism done away. It is true, as he rightly remarks, that in every great city the rich and the poor live apart from each other; yet we feel assured that there are better ways of filling up the distance between them, than by a committee of general superintendence, which shall be the organ of distribution for all the money that is levied from the wealthy, and whose care it shall be to equalize the public charity, according to the necessities of the respective districts.

But, in no part of his speech were we so fully disposed to go

along with him, than when he offered what appears to us a just and sound explanation of the abridgment that has taken place last year on the expenditure of the Town Hospital. Many of the friends of the parochial system have ascribed it to the relief which that institution has experienced by the influx of new cases having ceased from St John's, and some of the other parishes. For ourselves, we should rather waive this compliment. We hold the Principal's account of it to be the right one—namely, that it is referable in the main, to the improved condition of our operative classes, and the fall in the price of necessaries. We count it possible, that while the present state of things lasts, no great or sensible relief may be experienced by the Town Hospital. It is true, that five parishes are in a fair way of being at length disengaged from it. But other five still continue to receive their wonted supplies out of the fund which is administered by the Directors of that institution; and with a very slight relaxation of management, may their pauperism be not only kept up to the present amount of the assessments, but may even call, as of old, for larger levies than before. Nor is it at all unlikely, that on such being the event, this perverse and injurious construction may be founded on it—that the parochial system has done no good—that it has been tried and found wanting—that it has been established in one-half the parishes of Glasgow, and yet the burdens of the whole community are as great as ever. The reflecting observer must, at once, see where the fallacy of such a conclusion lies. The parochial system makes a most complete and conclusive demonstration of its efficacy, if it clear from compulsory pauperism the whole of that field over which it operates. It is surely not responsible for the excess, or the mismanagement of the parishes where it is derided and disowned—and should the assessment still maintain its wonted level, or even rise above it, after one-half of Glasgow has ceased to draw any supplies therefrom; this, instead of reflecting upon the new system, will only serve to aggravate the impeachment against the old one. It will just evince the more its powers of mischief, and how mightily creative it is of pauperism and all its attendant evils—if, though hemmed within a narrower field of occupancy than before, it shall nevertheless have appetite and room both for its former allowances, and for those which its more generous neighbours have forborne. And should the assessment, therefore, continue to be raised, as now, from the whole city, while its expenditure, though confined to one fraction of it, be nearly as great and as oppressive as before, we trust, that it will be intelligently seen, where it is that the mischief lies; and that the public hostility against the old system will become more resolute and unsparing than ever, on the discovery, that not till it is rooted out from all the parishes, will the benefit of the new system ever come to be rightly felt or fully recognized.

But there is one circumstance which, more than any other,

makes us hopeful of a speedy concurrence on the part of the other parishes. It says much for the proposed reformation, that it has so easy, and so practicable an outset. The Reverend Principal himself thinks, that had he the new cases alone to provide for, he could do it on the strength of his collections, for several years to come. We perfectly agree with him in so thinking; and we only beg him to reflect on the rapid disappearance of the old cases, during the period that he is thus engaged with the new ones. The truth is, that there is not a Kirk-Session in the city which could not, with due management and care, stand out all the new applications, aye, and until the Town Hospital had died a natural death, and the habits and expectations of the people had ceased to be associated with any other public charity, for the relief of indigence, than that which is offered by the parochial system alone. So that the only initial arrangement which needs to be entered upon, with each of the remaining parishes, is to relieve, out of the assessment fund, each of their Sessions from the overplus of poor that are upon them, and perhaps to stretch the relief with some of them so far, as to take off all their existing cases together; and thus leave them a totally disencumbered revenue, wherewith to begin a new score, and to embark on a new pauperism, that, minute and manageable in its infancy, will never, under right discipline, gather into a magnitude that shall outstrip or overbear them.

At the commencement of our proceedings in St John's, we undertook the whole of our Sessional poor, the yearly expense of which amounted, at that time, to £225. This, with the anticipated collection of £400 a-year, left us a surplus of £175. But we had not then ascertained by experience, as we now have, the rate of influx for the new cases: and the door of relief from the pressure of a yet dreaded accumulation, by the egress of old cases to the Town Hospital, was now conclusively shut against us. The event, however, far exceeded even our most sanguine anticipations; and, in less than two years, we found ourselves able to extend our original offer to the Town Hospital. So that, additionally to the relief of sending them no more new cases, we were able to propose the further relief of taking off, from the fund by assessments, every old case that could be traced to the parish of St John's. But though able, for our own parts, we certainly were not willing for any such proposal. We, in the first place, thought it a better destination for our surplus revenue, to hasten therewith the endowment of our parochial schools. And, in the second place, we thought that the exhibition of any sudden or marvellous achievement would serve to confirm the impression, that was already too much abroad, as if the process that we were engaged in was, on the whole, of such a Quixotic and extraordinary character as to distance all imitation. We felt that, by this new proposal, we should ingraft and superinduce upon the retracing movement, what was not at all indispensable

to its ultimate success; seeing, that by a simple arrest on the influx of new cases to the Town Hospital, that institution would experience a sure, though gradual relief from the old ones. We wanted to sustain the character of our enterprise, as being that of a steady and slow-going operation, which might be copied in all the parishes, rather than surround ourselves with the meteoric glare of such a wonder-working apparatus, as would somewhat bear upon it the aspect of jugglery to all common observers. Much rather would we approve ourselves, in this matter, to the most grave and sober-minded of the regular faculty, than send forth, from the stage on which we performed, any such empirical display, as might draw an homage from the popular eye, like unto that which is rendered, by the credulous, to a quack or a mountebank. And so, rather than strike an exterminating blow on the old compulsory pauperism of St John's, would we have deemed it to be in better taste, and truer accordancy with that wisdom which is both deeply seated on the invariable principles of human nature, and widely applicable, over the whole extent of it, had we left this pauperism to its own natural decay, and suffered it to live quietly out its appointed generation.

In the face of all this, however, an impatience was felt for the complete result of a parish wholly emancipated from its compulsory pauperism; and certainly it was an impatience which many good and many enlightened men would sympathize with. It was, therefore, at length given way to, and the extended offer of relief has, after some difficulty, been acceded to, by the Town Hospital. And we have here, with gratitude, to remark, that this movement, which we thought premature, furnished us with by far our most effective weapon of defence, in the premature discussion that we were called to engage in. It was the narrative of this, our full and final accomplishment, that told, and was of greatest weight in the General Assembly. And we cannot but hold it as providential, that a measure, for the establishment of which we had to surrender our own will, and our own way, was the instrument of a unanimous decision, for which that court might not have been otherwise prepared—a decision which only needs to be acted upon, in order to break up all the general managements of pauperism in towns, and to substitute the more wholesome administrations of the parochial system in their room.

And here, would we venture to suggest to our friends in the Canongate, that by the primary arrangement alone, between their Kirk-Session and their Charity Workhouse, did the latter receive its effectual death-blow—that simply, by the arrest laid upon the influx of new cases, it will come, in a few years, to its sure annihilation—and that, without any increase of assessment, the surplus of the present levy, over the constantly diminishing expense, will, of itself, liquidate, and very speedily too, the whole amount of debt that is upon the institution. At the same time, the desire is most natural to expedite the death of the old system

—and we can perceive that, under the operation of this desire, the Kirk-Session of the Canongate have extended the additional relief of £115 to the Charity Workhouse, within these few months—and most surely it is not for us to express any surprise at such a gratuitous effort in another parish, as we have already yielded to in our own. Our only fear is, lest, when thus left without the little capital they had themselves accumulated, there should be any misgiving felt, when an unlooked for or extraordinary demand comes in their way. With the conscious possession of a stock, there would, for example, have been less apprehension —on the event of a poor lunatic woman having been abandoned by her unnatural husband, and the parish being saddled, in consequence, with an expense of twenty pounds a-year. It is most true, however, on the other hand, that the conscious possession of a stock may relax the care and vigilance of the parochial administrators—and, therefore, do we quit these remarks, in the full confidence, that under its present enlightened superintendence, the Canongate of Edinburgh will soon afford a striking practical attestation both to the sufficiency and the wisdom of Scottish pauperism.

And there is an impulse to a strenuous administration in the Canongate, which is awanting to any single parish in Glasgow. It will there bring a distinct and immediate benefit upon the householders. As the old pauperism dies away, the assessment will die away along with it—and the relief that is thus effected falls upon the property that is within the parish. It is not so in Glasgow. A parish there, after it has ceased to be altogether a burden on the assessment, still continues to bear its full share of it. If a poor parish, its share of the assessment is, no doubt small—but then its share of pauperism, under the system of general management, is proportionably great—and, therefore, by setting up independently for itself, it withdraws a much larger burden from the fund than what would be remitted to it, by its assessment being done away. The parish of St John's, from its place in the gradation of wealth, may not contribute a twentieth part of the assessment of Glasgow. But then, had it continued to draw out of the assessment it might, at the ordinary rate of management, have burdened the city with the addition of, at least, an eighth part to the whole expense of its present pauperism. It is a hardship to St John's, if, after relieving Glasgow of so large a fraction of its expenditure, the small fraction which it contributes to the levy shall not be remitted—if it shall still be called upon to sustain a load, while it creates none of it—and after having wrought its way to that station of independence which it now occupies, and lifted off, from the general community of the place, the whole of its own pauperism, it shall be summoned to pay for the pauperism of other parishes. We can discover a growing feeling in St John's, of the assessment which continues to be levied there being an unfair exaction: And, now since the triumph of the

parochial system has been completed, have these outbreakings of a sense of injury become more free and more frequent than before.

We certainly cannot but participate in this feeling. A parish that ceases taking from the assessment fund, should also in equity cease giving to it—and more especially, when by ceasing to take, it relieves that fund of a greater sum than it withdraws, by ceasing to give. When the cost of a parish is greater than its contribution, then the town makes a good bargain with that parish by breaking off from all intromissions with it; and, it looks ungenerous as well as unfair, that, after it has eased the community of its own heavy charge, it should still be burdened with any part of the charge of other parishes. This is now the precise condition of the parish of St John's—paying its full share of the assessment, yet deriving not from it a single farthing for the behoof of its families—so managing its own resources as to draw nothing from the great legal treasury for its own pauperism, yet still drawn upon, as before, for all the waste and mismanagement that may be going on around it—helping to uphold that revenue from which it reaps no benefit, and over the expenditure of which it has no control—thus subsidizing the whole of Glasgow out of its own scanty means; and, all plebeian though it be, by the sweat of its own brow, and the strenuousness of its own efforts, so labouring as to render that support to others, which from others it has now ceased to receive.

We give out our impressions thus strongly, that the claimants in St John's for relief from the assessment, might perceive, that the rightfulness of their demand is neither misunderstood nor unfelt by us. Yet would we earnestly admonish them to be patient—and to wait, if peradventure relief may come to them, on coming to all, by the adoption of our plan in the other parishes. It were greatly better that, without litigation, it should come in this way—and should this hope be tardy of fulfilment, even in the meantime ours is the more honourable position—being like to that member of the family who contributes to the expense of the establishment, and yet refuses to lay upon it the burden of his own maintenance. And besides, redress will be more readily gotten by a sense of justice operating on the discretion of our rulers, than by legal controversy—and we have no doubt, that all which is proper and practicable will be done to reduce that glaring inequality, which we have now ventured to expose.

The difficulty is, that if exemption be granted to one parish on its becoming independent, whose cost has been greater than its contribution, then the same may afterwards be demanded by another parish, whose contribution was at all times greater than its cost. What may be a very gainful bargain with St John's would be a losing bargain with St George's—and should the latter parish withdraw the whole of its pauperism from the Town Hospital, yet its payments to that institution could not, on this

account, be dispensed with. It were well, perhaps, to ascertain from the books of the assessors, and of the Town Hospital, how the proportion stands in all the parishes; and simply to remit the assessment to every parish on the commencement of its independence, whose cost, for a given number of years previous to the outset of its reforming processes, has been greater than its contribution. This were holding out a bounty upon reformation to those parishes where such an encouragement was most needed, and from the success of whose attempts the public at large would reap the greatest deliverance. We have no doubt, that under the operation of such an enactment, the cause of the parochial system would be mightily speeded in the very poorest of the districts that are within the royalty—and that, with the reward before them of a total remission from the burden of assessment, as the instantaneous effect of their pauperism being totally disengaged from the assessment fund, there is not a parish in the city, whose proprietors and householders would not furnish the most important facilities to its Kirk-Session, for hastening on its patriotic enterprise to the wished-for termination.

So soon as the assessment is remitted to the parish of St John's, we can perceive how the boon will be felt—and what a mighty impulse will be thereby given to the whole of our parochial economy.* Such a sensible demonstration of its efficacy, would instantly tell on the whole of the influential class that reside or have property within our bounds—and many are the shopkeepers, and respectable tradesmen, and owners of tenements, who, scattered throughout the mass of our population, would become the very best auxiliaries that our Session could count upon. One thing we are sure of, that that most valuable of all co-operations, the co-operation of their kindness, each in the little recess of his own neighbourhood, would never be a-wanting. On the moment that extorted charity ceased, spontaneous charity would break forth at will—and a last visit from the tax-gatherers of the great city Hospital, were to us the conclusive signal for the opening up of innumerable flood-gates, to which we might safely confide the relief and the sustenance of all the needy, and all the meritorious among our families. It would turn our parish into a great homestead, within the limits of which idleness might find no harvest, yet starvation be a moral impossibility—while the exhibition of it, as a privileged and exempted territory, would do more than by any other public act of magistracy could be done, to speed the adoption of its separate and independent method in other parishes.

Nor is it to save the purses of the wealthy, but to save the principles of the poor, that we thus urge our own views on the subject of pauperism. We should like the abolition of public charity, not to exonerate the one class, but to exalt the other

* We believe it to be the continuance of the assessment, which has reversed all our anticipation of the good that would come from an exemption.

class; and to place the comfort and well-being of the lower orders on a securer basis. For this purpose, we would like the pomp and the publicity of every institution which has ever been reared for the alleviation of general indigence, to be henceforth done away; because we think that their whole effect has been to congeal the sympathies of the giver, and to corrupt the habits of the receiver—thereby undermining those primary guards, which Nature herself hath provided, against the extremes of human wretchedness. It behoves all who profess such doctrines to vindicate their own consistency; and while firm in resistance to all that would tempt the labourer from the sobriety which he owes to himself, and the duty which he owes to his kinsfolk—it is theirs both to strew the private walk of charity with many offerings, and to signalise their hostility to the degradation of the lower orders, by their munificent patronage of all that serves to raise or to enlighten them. It is thus, that they who are foremost in the abolition of pauperism, should be foremost in the great cause of popular education—and far their most triumphant defence against the imputations that are cast upon them, because of the hundreds they save by the one, would be their ready and cheerful expenditure of thousands upon the other. Let the expense all be theirs—let the gain be that of the coming generation. In the great work of extending both the scholastic and the ecclesiastical system of all our over-peopled parishes, will the enemies of pauperism find an ample field on which to illustrate the force and the purity of those philanthropic feelings by which they are actuated—and while sustaining the heat and pressure of the day, it should be to them enough of consolation, if along with a less burdened estate, they shall bequeath a more virtuous posterity to succeeding ages.

We think, that should the parish of St John's be unburdened of its assessments for the poor, it ought, on its own resources, to complete its system of parochial education. This will require the erection of another fabric—nor are we aware of any quarter from which the means ought more readily to be gathered, than from those who have just experienced the deliverance for which we are now pleading. And we know not a more appropriate monument to be placed over the grave of parish pauperism, than a parish school; nor, one that is better fitted to close impregnably up the gate of the sepulchre, and keep its noxious inmate from ever bursting forth again on the society that had so celebrated its last obsequies. We wait, till our civic rulers, having found that we should not pay for what we do not use, shall stop that annual levy, which is the only vestige of the old system that remains with us. After which, we look for a most salutary reaction among our own people—who, joining with one heart for the better and higher scholarship of their families, need, after the fulfilment of this honourable aim, stand in no fear of the resurrection of pauperism.

Our last remark on the business of the Assembly, is the obvious want of all respect and recognition that there seemed to be among them for such a Body as a General Session. The truth is, that it bears no constitutional character whatever—and as to any right of control over separate Sessions, has no more of it, than would a company of ministers met together at a sacrament, or a presbytery dinner. It impresses us more with the idea of a club, which may have its rules and its funds certainly; and between the members of which there may be a sort of conventional understanding—but most assuredly with no power of jurisdiction over any of the regular courts of our establishment, however inferior they may be in the scale of precedency. It is altogether, in short, a blotch or a diseased excrescence on the ecclesiastical system—and it is well, that, by the removal of it, our Kirk-Sessions in Glasgow have been restored to their primitive character, and have the same simple and intelligible place, with the Kirk-Sessions of country parishes—having no other relationship to the other corporations of the city, than that which subsists between itself and the Magistrates, regarded as Heritors; and subject to no other control than that of the Presbytery, and superior judicatories of our church. It was altogether in this sound constitutional spirit, that the Assembly not only confirmed that article in our constitution for a chapel-of-ease, which gave so much offence, but have mightily improved it. We were willing, for peace, to put up with the regulation, that the chapel collections should be disposed agreeably to the existing arrangement, between the Magistrates and ten ministers of Glasgow—but it was a most important and happy substitution, that the disposal of these collections should be subject to no other arrangement than that which might be resolved upon, between the Magistrates and Kirk-Session of the parish wherein the chapel was situated. The question will be altogether confined to these two parties, and never can be agitated among the ten ministers; and surely it is better for us all, when the chances of, and exposures to controversy, are lessened to the uttermost. For ourselves, it is vastly comfortable and refreshing, that we now have a place of occupancy, in a mechanism which one can comprehend—that, we are now relieved from the perpetual jostlings and collisions, which were quite unavoidable among the intricacies of the old system—that we have at length got out of that dark and tortuous labyrinth, where conveners, and clergy, and elders, and committee-men, were in constant danger of treading on one another—that conclusively rid of all this bustle and bewilderment, there is nought before us that is at all above the capacity, or the landward habits of a plain country minister, fresh from the simplicity of his original parish—that he has just to meet with his Session, and to treat with the Magistrates, in like manner as he wont to meet with the plain rustic eldership of his former kirk, and to treat with the lairds—and best of all, that now he has not to be overborne with the

weight of those city managements, which went to transform him out of all the priestly characteristics of his order—but taking what time he may in his closet, and what time he may in the labours of parochial cultivation, he will be sure, on the strength of his sacred duties, and his clerical proprieties alone, to be welcome in every circle of society, and to earn an affection and a courtesy from all ranks of the population.

No. III.

It may be thought, that we have carried our explanations on the subject of Scottish pauperism to a degree of minuteness that is altogether tedious and uncalled for. But it should be noticed, that we have something more to gain than the mere understanding of the reader; that we are not addressing ourselves to the merely speculative economist, but, that we have to guide, and, if possible, to stimulate, the energies of practical men. The reiteration which were tiresome to the former, carries in it, as we have often experienced, the very impulse that is necessary to drive in the obstinate resistance of the latter, and to set them a-going. Without great plainness, and plying urgency, and patiently returning to the charge, after the labour of many ineffectual demonstrations, nothing will be done. And it is under this impression, that ere we conclude, we would fain have one word more of application, on the way wherein all that is compulsory in the pauperism of Scotland, may be broken up and dissipated.

When the parish stands singly and aloof from all the complexities of an intricate and extended combination, as in country or suburb parishes, the arrangement is come to more easily. In some of these cases, the compulsory and gratuitous funds are thrown into one sum, and placed under one administration—and in other cases, they are administered separately. The way in either case, is to open up different accounts for these funds, if not to place them under different administrations. The last way is the best, when the existing machinery admits of it. But, at all events, let the money that has been levied, be exclusively applied to the paupers upon the roll at the commencement of the proposed reformation; and let all the new applications be met with and managed on the Sessional revenue alone. It may happen that this revenue is large; in which case, a good many of the already existing paupers may be attached to it from the outset, as in the parishes both of Canongate and St John's. In other cases the revenue may be so small, that to encourage the operation, it might be wise to relieve it of the existing pauperism altogether. So that, for the first year or two, the fund by assessment may have fully a greater weight of pauperism upon it than before. It were as well, indeed,

in every instance of a new arrangement, that the Session were left with an overplus on hand of its own proper revenue, above the expenditure that was laid upon it at the first. For the consequent pressure that would thus be felt by the other fund, there would soon be a relief and a compensation in the death of old cases, and the cessation of all influx from the new pauperism. And there is no doubt, that with a sufficient complement of elders or deacons—and the assignation of a small district of the parish to each of them—and a resolved spirit on their part, not against the poor, but against a system which has made the poor more wretched and mis-thriven than before, they will succeed in ridding the parish of a great moral evil, and restoring it to the pure and gratuitous economy of a Scottish parish.

But when, instead of a parish standing singly and disjoined from all others, under an independent regimen of its own, it be implicated with two or three more, as in some of our second-rate towns, or, perhaps, with a cluster of from ten to twenty, as now in Edinburgh, and recently in Glasgow, it requires somewhat more of management to disengage it. If its Kirk-Session be very poor, then we think, that it may be relieved by the assessment fund of all its pauperism together; and be left freely to try the process *de novo*, with the whole amount of its proper resources, whereby to meet all the coming applications. If its Kirk-Session be very rich, then a due amount of the existing pauperism of its own parish may be laid upon it; and should there be an excess of revenue, over even the whole of its pauperism, as now in St John's, then may this excess be applied, first, to the raising of a good parochial system of education within its own limits, and afterwards, in carrying that system abroad among the other parishes.* In the work of all these initial adjustments with the various parishes, the Charity Workhouse will find at the outset, a slight augmentation of pressure upon its funds. But this will speedily subside; and then, by a rapid disappearance of the old pauperism, an equally rapid liquidation of the assessment will be felt every year by the citizens. An increase of collections, if necessary, would be the sure effect of this experience in all the churches. And, at all events, it will be due, not to a want of means, but entirely to a want of management, if, in any one instance, the enterprise shall fail. Each parish will, in a few years, emerge into independence; and even in the most populous cities, within the pale of our establishment, the last vestiges of the corrupt system of England will all have melted away, under the powerful and purifying influences of our own better economy.

And we would here suggest to those wealthier Sessions that

* In this way the cause is most powerfully served in these parishes—as education is, by far, the strongest moral corrective against pauperism that can be devised. On the subject of city schools, and the best method of making them to bear on a city population, see a pamphlet entitled "Considerations on the System of Parochial Schools in Scotland, and on the advantage of establishing them in Large Towns."

are able to relieve the Charity Workhouse of some of its pauperism, that they should still suffer it to continue under the administration of its Managers, only paying the expense of it, at stated terms, to that institution. It is greatly better, that the elders should not come personally into contact with the management of any of the old cases: but that all their intercourse as administrators for the poor, should be with the new pauperism alone. It is thus that the Town Hospital of Glasgow, while it has consented to the relief that was proffered to it by the Kirk-Session of St John's, has kindly and liberally undertaken to be still the organ of conveyance as before, for the supplies of our old pauperism; having agreed to present a quarterly account of the expense from which it is, henceforward, delivered—but willingly postponing their deliverance from the trouble, till all the existing cases in their list shall have died away.

We wholly refuse the charge of an unfeeling hardihood towards the poor, in any of these processes. The system that we want to restore will, in the first place, work a tenfold compensation for all which might appear to be withdrawn from them, in the renovation of their own habits, and the then augmented resources of their own economy. And, in the second place, while it will be sure to reinstate in wonted force, the duties of children and of kinsfolk, and so cause nature again to stretch forth that helping hand, which law had, by its intermeddling, put back; it will also bring out the liberalities of the affluent in a character of freedom and good will, which they altogether lose on their passage to the population, through such ducts of conveyance as the hands of city assessors and the distributions of a poor's house. Every ministration of relief which shall thus be made to descend upon humble life, will be accompanied with the charm of that living sympathy by which it has been prompted; and the whole effect of this better way to soothe and to satisfy the lower orders of society, he only can tell, who, once in penury himself, can recollect how far the goodness of his friend outweighed, in power of comfort over his spirit, the gift that emanated therefrom. It is the deed of alms-giving which brings the food and the raiment into the habitations of the destitute; but it is the generous impulse that gave it birth which finds its way into their hearts. From the great legal institution the naked provender is carried forth, and not one moral influence of charity goes along with it. It is only in the unseen walk of human kindness, as it plies its secret visitations and makes its affectionate inquiries—it is only there, where charity brightens into its own genuine aspect, and by its thousand nameless delicacies, can, along with the beneficence which it showers upon humble life, waken the gratitude and fond regard of all its families.

This is the way to disarm the city multitude of all that is formidable; and had it no other recommendation, it is the bland and benignant influence of a parochial economy upon the popu-

lar mind, which should quicken the effort of all our philanthropists to extend and to perfect it. Nor do we know of a likelier method by which to hasten it forward, than by the multiplication of chapels of ease, and more especially when a territorial district, tantamount, in fact to a new parish, is attached to each of them Each parish in Glasgow, averaging as it does, towards 8000 inhabitants, admits of being, at least, bisected in this way; but they are our enormous suburb parishes that stand most in need of these institutions. The Barony parish of Glasgow has upwards of 50,000 inhabitants, and the West Kirk parish of Edinburgh has little short of this number—thus imperiously calling for a more extended moral apparatus, wherewith to confront both the pauperism and the profligacy of their respective populations.

There is a very patent and discernible way, by which to make either new churches, or new chapels subservient to the abridgment of pauperism. Their collections will be altogether new; and therefore, without detracting from the funds that go, at present, to the support of the old pauperism, they may be wholly left in the hands of an agency sanctioned and set apart by the Kirk-Session, for the treatment of all the new applications from the districts which are respectively assigned to them. Let there be a good complement of elders or deacons provided for each chapel—and let these have each his own manageable locality or sub-district assigned to him—and let them all be made to understand, that out of the money gathered at the church-doors, the new pauperism is meanwhile to be met—and that it lies with their own good management whether all the demands of this pauperism might not be rightly provided for from the fund which they administer, even till it has reached its maximum, or till the old cases shall all have died away. Then it is, that their enterprise shall have reached its consummation. The adequacy of chapel offerings to the necessities of the chapel district will be proved experimentally; and it will indeed be a precious service, done by the band of philanthropists who have been attached to this work, that they have reclaimed their own allotted territory to that gratuitous economy of old Scottish pauperism, which will ever be found enough for all the demands of all our population.

It is thus that our city and suburb domains may, piece-meal and successively, be cleared of all their compulsory pauperism. Were we asked to specify the right population, either for a parish or a chapelry in towns, we should fix on three thousand,* as the number that, ecclesiastically, could have the same week-day attentions rendered to them by the minister, as are practicable in the average of our country parishes; a compensation for the larger number being had in the narrower extent

* A longer experience, and closer attention to the subject, have had now the effect of convincing me, that the population of no parish should exceed two thousand.

of the ground, and the contiguousness of its families. It is comfortable to think, that by thus halving each of the parishes of Glasgow, a tolerable approach would be made to this number for each of its ecclesiastical labourers—so that while, by the simple device of erecting a chapel for each of them, the Christian efficiency of our establishment might be doubled, there can be no doubt, that under such an arrangement, the whole of its compulsory pauperism might easily be made to disappear. There is no such chapel, whose collections might not be made to meet in perpetuity, all the new pauperism that should be admitted from the district which has been annexed to it, even though it were a population of three thousand and upwards. We should imagine that a territory of somewhat this extent might easily be found from some one parish, for the chapels that are now to be raised in Greenock, Aberdeen, and Dundee; and there is no doubt, that when placed in the state of separation and self-dependence that we have now suggested, each would soon clear away from its own district the weight of its present pauperism.

But, at this rate, there would be small relief to such an unwieldy parish as the West Kirk of Edinburgh; and it were well, that in the first instance, there should be a much larger allocation of territory for each of its two new chapels. It is true that three thousand people are quite enough for any one of them to do with ecclesiastically. But if, in the mean time, districts of six thousand were assigned to each,* the right number would be, at length arrived at, by the subdividing that might be made to take place, in the event of future erections. In the mean time, six thousand will not be too many to be charged on each chapel, in as far as it regards the management of their new pauperism. It will be recollected that the new pauperism of the whole of St John's parish has been met and rightly provided for, these three years nearly on the small offerings of the evening congregation alone; and, that in that parish there are upwards of eight thousand inhabitants. It were a most important relief to the Charity Workhouse of the West Kirk parish, could it be relieved, in all time coming, through the medium of the two chapels now to be raised, of new cases, from a population of twelve thousand. That there will be a sufficiency of means with the chapels for the fulfilment of this object, we would not have had the smallest doubt, even though the territorial principle had been acted upon in seat-letting, and each place of worship had been filled from their respective vicinities with plebeian congregations. But as a preference to residenters, is not one of the rules of their constitution, (though we trust that it may soon be adopted as the invariable rule of their practice) the presumption is, that each chapel may have wealthy

* And as another fruit of our now longer experience, we, instead of subdividing parishes by equal bisections, have a decided preference for the method of successive disjunctions of not more than two thousand people at a time from the original parish.

sitters from all parts of the city. In this case, so far from having any fear of their ability to undertake the new pauperism of 12,000 people, our only fear should be, that they may be tempted, at the outset, to a profuse and careless administration, by the overplus of their collections—so as to make it advisable that they should further be charged with a certain amount of their old pauperism.

The two great benefits to be aimed at by the erection of a new church, or a new chapel, are, first the Christian good that may be rendered to the families of its assigned territory, by the ministrations of the gospel; and secondly, their economic good, by the deliverance of the whole space they occupy from the evils of a compulsory pauperism. It is the more effectually to secure the first of these benefits, that we contend for the territorial rule of seat-letting, even though that should expose us to a wholly plebeian congregation. And we do not fear, that in our eagerness to accomplish this object, we put to hazard the second benefit, by the humbler collections of the humbler auditory, for whose primary accommodation it is, that the place of worship has been opened. This very fearlessness marks how it is that we expect the problem of pauperism to be resolved—and that our confidence of success does not lie in the means, but in the management. Pauperism is at best an excrescence on the body politic; and it is best for all the members of that body, when there is but little aliment to uphold it.

One wholly engrossed with the cure of pauperism, and who further thought that it was by large collections only, that the assessment could be superseded, would never plead so zealously as we have done, for that rule of seat-letting even in suburb and plebeian parishes, which went to exclude the wealthy, by the preference that it rendered to the poor. But we, in the first place, do not confide the success of our endeavours against pauperism to the magnitude of the collection at all—and, in the second place, so far from being engrossed with this as the main object of philanthropy, we hold the conversion of one soul to be of more worth, than the merely temporal good that would accrue to a whole empire, by its deliverance from pauperism. It is true, that were the poorest district of a city once reclaimed to congregational habits; its humble sabbath offerings, at the door of that chapel which had been raised for its special and primary behoof, would do more for the pauperism of its now humanized families, than could the ten-fold offerings of a rich auditory, occupying the same chapel, and so leaving its excluded neighbourhood in all the grossness and depravity of their unmitigated heathenism. Yet it is not because of this secular good, that we thus plead for a more abundant supply of the ministrations of sacredness. It may be fair to urge it as forming with many the most effective argument for calling out their influence and their means, in behalf of a cause that has higher bearings than ever they have contemplated,

and that yields a fruit of mightier endurance than any which they ever yet have been led to care for. The extinction of pauperism is but one of those collateral blessings that would flow from the Christianity of the people—one of those many felicities which it profusely scatters along its path, wherewith to beautify and enrich even the society of this world—and after all, but the humble episode of a process far more magnificent. And we repeat, that it is not any happier adjustment among the fleeting interests of this life, which forms the strength of the argument for chapels being multiplied, and cities being more broken down into parishes. This, indeed, is a measure worth all the policy that can be expended on it—yet, not because of any economic good that society is to reap from a right treatment of our population, but because of their eternity that has to be won, and because of their spirits that are imperishable.

There is a delusion that attaches to much of moral and much of political speculation. The purpose of both is to ameliorate the condition of humanity, and to rear the permanent and substantial fabric of a better society than that which now encompasses our globe. It is, indeed, a soothing perspective for the eye of the philanthropist to dwell upon, when he looks onward to fancied scenes of bliss and perfection in the ages that are to come —and while he pictures to himself as the fruit of his enlightened labours in the philosophy of public affairs, that there shall then be love in every heart, and plenty in every habitation, it is scarcely to be wondered at, that he should kindle in the thought of all this goodly munificence, as if it bore upon it somewhat of the worth and greatness of immortality. But apart from religion—and how poor is the amount of all that the mere cosmopolite can do for our species! And even though, without its aid, he should be able to perfect the temporal economy of nations, never can he perpetuate beyond a few flying years, to a single individual of this vast assemblage, any portion of the bliss or the glory that he thinks to have provided for them. It is death which brings down the worth and computation of his high-blown enterprise, that though established over the whole earth, and weathering the lapse of many centuries, can only gild in brighter and more beauteous characters than before, the fantastic day of each ephemeral generation. It is the gospel of Jesus Christ through which life and immortality are brought to light—it is this alone that can furnish the friend of humanity with solid and enduring materials —and never can he stand on a vantage ground where the mockeries of the grave do not reach him, till labouring and devising for the Christianity of his fellows, he helps to extend an interest that shall survive the wreck of every death-bed; and which, instead of being swept into annihilation, will be ushered to everlasting day, by that trumpet, at whose sound, our world, with all the pomp and all the promise of its many institutions, shall utterly pass away.

APPENDIX, No. II.

PREFACE.

This Pamphlet was brought to its present state some weeks ago, when its further progress was arrested by a pretty severe illness. This will explain the abruptness of its termination.

I meant to have subjoined some additional recommendations of the parochial system in large towns; more especially from its bearings both on the economic well-being, and on the Christian education of the working classes. But my attention is now called, for a time, by other duties, from the whole of this interesting argument.

It may very naturally be asked, why I should publish a work ere I have extended it so far as I originally designed. To this question several replies may be made. First, there was a pretty general imagination that I had relinquished my charge in Glasgow, because of the misgiving of my schemes for the extinction of pauperism, whilst, in fact, throughout the various stages of this operation, we have felt all along the most overflowing prosperity. Secondly, a no less general imagination is, that though the plan may have succeeded with us, it will fail in the hands of another, and is not imitable in other parishes. It is of importance to the cause of truth that this error also should be

rectified. And, lastly, though I had no other reason for the step, it were enough that I made these few sheets the vehicle of the communications which I have so recently obtained from my Deacons, on the state and management of their respective districts—and of which I honestly think that they are more fitted to impress a right conviction on the subject of pauperism than all that I have ever written. These precious memorials will be found in a lengthened Note towards the end of the Pamphlet.

I have only to add, that there are certain numerical affirmations connected with the general statistics of the city, which were submitted to Mr Cleland on their way to the press.

STATEMENT IN REGARD TO THE PAUPERISM OF GLASGOW, FROM THE EXPERIENCE OF THE LAST EIGHT YEARS. (FIRST PRINTED IN 1823.)

The population of St John's, though not the greatest, is above the average population of the Parishes in Glasgow. By a survey made between the Whitsundays of 1818 and 1819, under my own superintendence, its whole number of inhabitants was 10,304. Part of it was afterwards transferred to the newly formed Parish of St James, which reduced its population to 8,294. At the beginning of 1820, about a year after my own survey, there was another made, under the authority of the Magistrates, for the whole city, and by which it appears that the population had increased to 8,366. This tallies with my own observation of the new buildings that had been built, and additional families that have come into the parish. It is, therefore, the more remarkable, that, by the Government Census in 1821, the population should have fallen back to 7,965. And certain it is, that, by the emigrations of the intervening period, which was a period of great distress in Glasgow, many of the tenements were left empty. There was a general diminution of inhabitants from this cause over the whole of Glasgow; the population of the ten city parishes having in 1820 been 73,796, and in 1821, only 72,765. Still, under all these fluctuations, the population of St John's maintained its superi-

ority over the average of the other parishes. It has besides, a very great extent of unoccupied ground, on which there have lately been many new erections, both of public works and of dwelling places—so that its population increases rapidly.

But, while the population of this parish is above the average of Glasgow, its wealth is very greatly beneath the average. With the exception of about twenty families, it may be regarded as altogether a plebeian district; and more especially abounding in that class of operatives who are most affected by the reverses and difficulties to which every manufacturing place is liable. And beside the weavers, there is a very large body of labourers, whose employment fluctuates with the season, and who are often forced to suspend work for many days at a time. It is difficult to institute a precise comparison as to wealth between this and any other of the poorer parishes in Glasgow. But there are two criteria that must afford a tolerably near approximation to the truth

The first is the number of household servants in each parish relative to its whole population. From the valuable works of Mr Cleland* it ap-

* We would strongly recommend to Mr Cleland, that, in any of his future surveys of Glasgow, he should present distinct parochial lists of all the other occupations, as well as of the household servants. He has indeed furnished us with a general table of the occupations for the whole city. But it were interesting to know what the accurate proportions are, in which those of the operative ranks are distributed in each particular parish—when, we are satisfied, that it will be found that the natural poverty of a district and its artificial pauperism bear no relation to each other.

It gives us pleasure to find that the labours of this most industrious and devoted statist are now recognised by those who are best qualified to appreciate their importance. In the last publi-

pears, that the proportion of servants is least in St John's, being only 1 to $33\frac{870}{1000}$ of the population. In some of the parishes, it is so great as 1 to $6\frac{777}{1000}$ of the population. The next lowest in the scale is Blackfriars. St John's, however, is absolutely the lowest. And I am informed by Mr Cleland, that he includes shop-boys and others who run the errands or wait on the retail of that little merchandise, which is carried on to a very great extent among the ground-storeys of the Gallowgate. This reduces the household servants to a still smaller number; and, indeed, there are very few of our families that have one.

The second criterion is very properly not ac-

cation of a Government census, we meet with the following well-merited testimony to the worth and importance of his works—the more flattering, in that it is far the fullest acknowledgment which has been bestowed upon any returns from any part of the empire. "It would be unjust not to mention in this place, that Mr Cleland has transmitted printed documents containing very numerous and very useful statistical details concerning the city and suburbs of Glasgow; and that the example has produced imitation in some other of the principal towns in Scotland, though not to the same extent of minute investigation by which Mr Cleland's labours are distinguished."

It gives us still more pleasure to find that these valuable digests are on the eve of being translated into French—and that some of the most eminent disciples of political science on the Continent have expressed the high sense which they have of their importance—as furnishing indeed the only solid materials on which the true philosophy of economics can be reared. Mr Say, well known as an economist in this country, and over all Europe, witnesses of one of Mr Cleland's publications, "that the multitude of documents which it contains, and the minute details with which they are accompanied, is truly astonishing—that by such exertions as those of Sir John Sinclair and Mr Cleland, Scotland is now the country of the world that is best known, and will serve as a model of all others in regard to statistics—and that he will certainly make use of the precious documents which the work of the latter gentleman furnishes."

cessible to public observation. Nor could I have obtained access to it, had it not been known that my single object was to determine the relative wealth of St John's parish, *taken in the gross*, to that of the other parishes of Glasgow. This can be very satisfactorily done by an examination of the assessment books. In Glasgow the inhabitants are assessed for the support of the poor, not according to the valued rent of their houses, but according to their estimated property—and by a somewhat laborious process, the items of any parish can be extracted from the general mass, and when added together, give the whole amount that is charged upon that parish. I extracted the sums only, and have lost all remembrance of the names to which they were annexed. The result was most gratifying. The whole assessment for the poor of Glasgow last year was £9,213 4s. 6d. and of this sum the parish of St John's contributed about £140, or about $\frac{1}{66}$ of the whole. This second criterion points to about the same conclusion with the first—for as this parish contains within it, relatively, the least number of household servants, so it pays both absolutely and relatively the least to the assessment.

It was of this poorest, then, of our city parishes, that I felt the confidence of being at length able to meet and to manage its pauperism, without drawing any supply from the fund raised by assessment. I did not know, at the commencement of our undertaking, that it was the poorest. But I was at least sure, that it fell greatly beneath the average of all the parishes in wealth—and that its

pauperism, under the ordinary treatment, should have cost more than a tenth of the whole expense for the poor in Glasgow, or, at the rate of expenditure for some years, upwards of £1400 annually. For the achievement of this object, all that I required was the free command and use of the weekly collection received at my church door, amounting at that time to £400 a year. And with this sum I could have undertaken any other of the Glasgow parishes, and been just as confident of a favourable result as I was with the parish of St John's.

The process has been so often explained, that, at present, I shall give a very brief description of it. I undertook, from the outset, the expense of all my then sessional poor, amounting to £225 a-year; but as my yearly collection was £400, I withdrew by this arrangement £175 from the general support of the poor in Glasgow. The only return which I could then venture to hold out for this sacrifice, was, that I should send no new poor, either casual or permanent, to the Town Hospital, whence the fund by assessment was distributed among all the poor of the city. It is evident, that under this arrangement, that institution would, by the operation of death, be gradually lightened of the pauperism that they had received in former years from that district of the city which now formed the parish of St John's, and would be at length relieved from it altogether.

The attentive reader will at once perceive, that the success of this undertaking all hinges on the management of the new cases—or on the way in which the new applicants for parochial relief were

met by the dispensers of the parochial charity. The old pauperism, then on the Town Hospital, behoved to die away. Even the then existing pauperism of £225 a-year, that was upheld by the collection, must ultimately, and at no great distance of time, disappear—and the essential question, that could only be determined by experience, was, by what amount of new pauperism will the old be replaced?

By a very numerous class, this was held to be a visionary scheme; and visionary, on the ground that no collection could possibly stand out against the demands of the poor, in a populous, and, at the same time, plebeian city parish. We believe, that of those who opposed it most keenly, and who anticipated its failure most sanguinely, no one ever dreamed of a failure from any other cause than a deficiency in our pecuniary means. It was never once imagined, that we should be embarrassed by an excess; or, that instead of having to give in, because of a short-coming which had to be made good, as in other parishes, from the fund by assessment, we should have to look about in quest of a safe and right absorbent, for our yearly surplus.

Another class, not so numerous as the former, thought that our success was possible; but possible only on the strength of a collection which, even at the outset, was unusually great, and of which they perhaps thought, that from the liberality of a large and an attached congregation, it could be augmented indefinitely. The one class deemed it a chimerical enterprise in any hands. The other class held it possible by us, but not imitable by

others. It is hoped, that a plain statement of the fact may help to clear away both of these wrong imaginations, which were very prevalent at the outset of our undertaking, and which, even yet, are very far from being dissipated.

I had two congregations, a day and an evening one; the first of these wealthy, the second poor. So long as the evening service lasted, which it did from September, 1819, to June, 1823, there did not one farthing of the day collection go to the support of new cases. This day collection, the only one chargeable with a magnitude that distanced all imitation, was employed in keeping up, and occasionally extending the allowances of those sessional poor, whom we found already on the roll, at the outset of our proceedings; and what remained, after the fulfilment of this purpose, has been chiefly expended in the endowment of parish schools. All the new applications, for three years and nine months, have been met by the evening collection; and with a sum not exceeding £80 a-year, have we been able to provide for all the newly admitted pauperism, both casual and regular.

It is true, that in the winter of 1819-20, extraordinary measures were resorted to, for alleviating the distresses of that period. In particular, there was a subscription for the city at large, and a public distribution of soup, by the Town Hospital, for all the other parishes of Glasgow but St John's. Whatever opinion may be entertained respecting the wisdom, or the efficacy of these measures, it was obviously expedient, that our parish should

stand on the same level, in respect of this apparent advantage, with the other parishes. A visible difference, in this matter, was certainly not desirable at the outset of our undertaking; and, in the then violent and distempered state of the public feeling, would not have been safe. Our people therefore shared in the subscription; and we had also our miniature kitchen, with its distributions of soup, among those poor of the parochial families who required it. I felt it grievous thus to subject any of my people to the humiliating exposure of such an application: so, that instead of being mortified, I was greatly comforted and restored, by the almost universal contempt in which this said kitchen was held by them. Their conduct, on that occasion, was an admirable comment on the memorable saying of one of my female parishioners, who is now in her grave—a saying worthy of the land that gave her birth, and which I should like to circulate, and be impressed on all our population. An allowance from a public charity was offered to her, and her reply was, "that she would not have the name of it, for all the worth of it."

The kitchen cost us twenty pounds and sixpence, and all our other expenses connected with that distressing period, did not exceed a hundred pounds.

As to our regular and ordinary proceedings, it should be remarked, that in one particular, the expenditure of our parish must vary in the style of it, from that of the other Glasgow parishes, which are connected with the Town Hospital. It is upon this institution mainly, that are laid the in-

cidental or occasional expenses, which are incurred by those who pass in England under the denomination of casual poor. We, of course, have to meet the demands of these, as well as of the new applicants whom it is necessary to admit upon the roll, as the subjects of a regular allowance. But the expense arising from this quarter has, of late, been rapidly diminishing. It was greatest at first, partly from the hardships of the times, and partly too, perhaps, from inexperience in the treatment of those applications which wont to be managed by the Town Hospital. From the account submitted to me by the Treasurer of our evening fund, it appears that the whole sum charged upon him, from September 30th, 1822, to August 1st, 1823, being a period of ten months, for occasional expenses, was £14 3s.

But the most interesting question relates to the number of those who have been admitted upon our fund, as regular or permanent paupers. The following is an account of them, during the period, from October 1st, 1819, to July 1st, 1823, being a period of three years and nine months.

The number of paupers who have been admitted on the ground of general indigence is thirteen. Their monthly expense is £2 13s. 4d. and their yearly is £32.

The number admitted on the ground of extraordinary and hopeless disease is two; one of them being a Lunatic, and the other Deaf and Dumb. Their monthly expense is £1 4s. 8d. and their yearly, £14 16s.

The number admitted on the ground of that

necessity which springs from crime is five; there having been two illegitimate children, and three families of runaway husbands admitted upon the fund. Their monthly expense is £1 12s. 6d. and their yearly is £19 10s.

The whole number of regular paupers who have been admitted on the parochial funds of St John's, for three years and nine months, is twenty, at a monthly expense of £5 10s. 6d. and a yearly expense of £66 6s. during which period there has not one been sent to the Town Hospital, or made chargeable, in any way, on the fund by assessment.*

We have separated the paupers into classes, for we think that the question, whether any legal provision for indigence is required by the natural state and necessities of any population, should be decided by the first of these classes alone, and not by any, or both of the succeeding ones. We think, that institutions for Disease might be supported to the uttermost extent of the demand for them; and even though legalized and upheld by assessment, as the county Asylums for Lunacy in England, we can see none of the indefinite mischief and corruption in such a practice, that there undoubtedly is in our present generalized pauperism. We further hold, in regard to the third class, that there ought to be no public or ordained aliment, tending directly to the multiplication of crimes;

* It is right to mention here, that our sick have occasional attendance and medicine, from the District Surgeons, belonging to the Town Hospital. The town is divided into four departments, and a Surgeon attached to each of them. The parish of St John's forms part of two of these departments.

and so, the question with us, whether there should be such an economy as that of our existing pauperism, resolves itself into the question, whether, apart from the disease, which ought to be provided for, and from the immorality, which ought not to be provided for, there be really any thing in the circumstances of society that necessarily creates such an amount of indigence, as to require any other securities for its relief, than the unforced sympathies of our nature.

Our own previous convictions upon this subject have been strengthened into a full and settled assurance, by the experience which we have now recorded. That, in a plebeian and manufacturing city parish, with upwards of 8000 inhabitants, there should have been admitted only twenty paupers of all classes, in the space of three years and nine months; and still more, that of the first class, or the class of general indigence, the number admitted should only be thirteen, and the yearly expense of them £32, is to us an abundantly decisive proof of a legal or compulsory provision, in any circumstances, being wholly uncalled for.

There have two deaths occurred among these newly admitted cases. They are now beginning to decline at the one end, while they are slowly augmenting at the other; and we have the confidence, that by persevering in our present management, their number will not be sensibly greater than it is now. Meanwhile, the original pauperism is dying rapidly away; and with a right and careful administration, we certainly are not very far from our maximum of new cases. But even though

that maximum should at length be double of our present number, still there would be the exhibition of a parish, with the extent of population that we have now specified, and having the whole of its regular pauperism upheld for an expenditure of little more than a hundred pounds in the year.

But without waiting for such a result, and even while a very large remainder of the old pauperism, that was the fruit of the former system, is still upon us, and not yet cleared away, yet with this disadvantage, the exhibition of our present state is sufficiently impressive of the truth, that there is really no inherent or essential necessity for a compulsory poor-rate. It will be recollected, that our undertaking commenced on the 1st of October, 1819, and that, at that time, there was a sessional pauperism already formed of £225 a-year, which we took upon the fund raised by our day collection. The number of sessional poor was then 117, of whom, about a year afterwards, nineteen were transferred to St James', at the formation of that parish. The original number then, of sessional poor belonging to our parish, as it now stands, may be taken at ninety-eight, of whom, by March, 1823, twenty-eight had died, and thirteen had been displaced from the roll, in consequence of a scrutiny. This brought down our number of old poor to fifty-seven, to which, if the twenty that have been taken on are added, the number of sessional paupers, on the whole, has fallen from ninety-eight to seventy-seven.

This result hath much exceeded our first anticipations. It would have been more than enough,

if we had kept our list of poor from increasing, excluded as we now were, from the old privilege of relieving ourselves to any extent, by sending both new applicants, and paupers already on our list, to the Town Hospital. The door of that institution was now shut against us; and we had, with our collection alone, to meet every case that offered itself from the population. In these circumstances, we did lay our account with an increase both in the number and expense of our poor; and the surplus of £175 a-year, kept in our hands by the new arrangement, was for the express purpose of meeting this increase. It turned out, therefore, a most agreeable result, when we found that this surplus was not called for. The more that our hopes were overpassed, the more have our principles been strengthened.

In consequence of the complex system from which we had to be extricated, the diagram of our operations is itself a little complicated; and they who have only the power or the patience to look at one part of it, have been heard to say, Where lies the mighty achievement of reducing the parochial poor from ninety-eight to seventy-seven? But this is not the achievement. Though there had been no reduction at all, though our present number had still been ninety-eight, and there was no prospect of bringing it any lower, there would still remain that peculiarity which is the only one that we deem to be of any importance. We have, during the whole period of these doings, sent no new cases to the Town Hospital. We now draw nothing from the fund by assessment, and maintain

the whole poor of the most plebeian parish in the city, not by means of a great collection, but by means of such a fraction of it as would constitute a very ordinary collection, and as might easily be realised in any of the parishes. Were they, in like manner, to strike off from the Town Hospital, each, with such a number of sessional poor as it was fully able for at the outset, the valuable service which they could render to the public, would not lie in reducing their own lists of pauperism—it would lie simply in their transmitting no case to the fund by assessment. Even though the whole sessional pauperism of Glasgow were, under such an arrangement, to remain stationary, there is still a most obvious answer to the question about the good that should be done by it. For, under such an arrangement, the Hospital would, in a few years, die a natural death—the fund by assessment would be relieved of all its charges; and a Scottish pauperism, in the pure and original style of it, would wholly supersede that hurtful economy, which hath entailed the greatest of all its domestic evils on the people of England.

The whole yearly expense of our original sessional poor, and newly admitted cases, is about £190.

But our actual expense varies from this by the operation of two causes. The first is, that the poor of all the parishes in Glasgow are still interchangeable. They have no law of residence for their mutual protection from each other's paupers. And, accordingly, the prediction of our adversaries was, that if we succeeded at all, it would be by the

efflux of our half-starved and half-provided poor into the other parishes. But it has turned out quite differently. At the beginning of March, 1823, fifteen of our poor had been removed to other parishes, and twenty-nine of their poor had been received by us from other parishes—so that, our imports exceeded our exports, at that term, by fourteen, whose expense, at the average of 40s. a-year, comes to £28 over and above the natural cost of our parochial system of management.

It is not this expense, however, which forms our heaviest loss, from the balance being so much against us. A greater and more permanent burden comes upon us from the different ages at which our poor go out to other parishes, and at which we admit their poor in return. Only one of our newly formed cases has left us—so that, all the rest who have taken leave, had at least a seniority upon them as far back as September, 1819. Whereas, our imported poor came to us in all the possible degrees of seniority as paupers. The fifteen who have gone, had, averagely speaking, a shorter period to remain in the world, than the twenty-nine who have come in their places. This, while it lasts, will always expose us to a much slower process of relief, than we would otherwise have had by the operation of death. The truth is, that a law of residence protecting every parish of Glasgow from all the rest, would have restricted our expenditure to our own original and newly formed poor—the former of whom must soon, in the course of nature, have waxed old, and disappeared—and the latter, at our exceeding slow

rate of admission, must always constitute a very small and manageable family.

But though we complain of this unfavourable balance, as a very heavy disadvantage to our system, yet we are almost glad to suffer it, because of the triumphant refutation which it holds out to an attempted calumny against us, that we are harsh to the poor—a refutation the more decisive, that it is a practical one, and that it is given by the poor themselves. Besides, though this excess of imports has turned out a burden upon our system, such is the inherent vigour and efficacy of the system itself, that we can stand our ground against it.

A second cause which has affected our expenditure, and made it, like the former, exceed still more the natural cost of the system, is, that we have gone beyond our original offer to the Town Hospital. By our first arrangement, all the poor that had been already admitted from the ground of St John's parish, upon the funds of that institution, were to have remained upon it till death; and it was only in this way that we could venture to promise a total relief to the assessment from all charges on the account of our poor. We felt that it would have been adventuring too much at the first, to have offered a present relief to the Town Hospital; and we could, therefore, only at the time, hold out the prospect of an eventual relief. But we found the prosperity of our new system to go so far beyond our anticipations, that upwards of a year ago, we extended our original offer, and requested the Town Hospital to make out a list of all the cases that were actually upon their fund,

and which they could trace to have been admitted by them from that territorial district of the city which forms the present parish of St John's. It appeared, from their communications, that in September, 1819, the whole number of such who could be ascertained, amounted to forty-nine. In March, 1823, they had subsided, by the operation of death, to thirty-four, most of whom are now in extreme old age; and from whose expense, therefore, there is the prospect of being speedily relieved. Even their present cost is moderate and manageable, being only about £90 a-year.

By assembling together, then, these three distinct items of our disbursement, we attain the sum total of our present and actual expenditure.

The Town Hospital poor cost us	£90	0	0
The original sessional poor of 1819, inclusive of the imports,.....	152	0	0
And the new poor of three years and a-half from the commencement, during which time we have wholly intercepted the flow of pauperism into the Town Hospital, from more than one-tenth of the poorest population in the city,	66	0	0
Making a total yearly expense of	£308	0	0

The actual expense, then, is very manageable, even after the total relief of the assessment has been accomplished, after that we have ceased to draw from the compulsory fund for any part of our pauperism, whether it be original or newly

formed. And, when we join to this consideration the prospect that lies before us, the slow rate at which the new pauperism may be admitted, and the fast rate at which, in the course of nature, the old will certainly disappear, we cannot doubt, that with a simple perseverance in the wonted style of management, we have reached our conclu sive emancipation from compulsory pauperism.

We hold ourselves now prepared for the question, whether the process which we have attempted to narrate as clearly and explicitly as we can, be really imitable in other parishes?

The two distinct considerations that enter into this question, are the means and the management; the means by which the expenditure is defrayed, and the management by which that expenditure may be kept down to a state of moderation, that is altogether indefinite.

As to the means for meeting the expenditure, it should be observed, that we have exhibited our own expenditure in its three distinct branches—and that, partly for the purpose of demonstrating with what facility the parochial system may be introduced, and be prosperously carried forward, even in our parishes of most slender means and most indigent population.

Our whole regular and annual expenditure, then, it has been seen, amounts to £308, the first part of which, or about £90 a-year, is incurred by the charge of those remaining poor who were upon the funds of the Town Hospital, at the commencement of our undertaking. Now, no other parish is called upon to charge itself with this ex-

pense at all. It was an expense that did not enter into any original plan of ours, and so far, therefore, from being held to operate against the parochial system, is truly, in our case, the fruit of its very great and unexpected prosperity. Into the question of imitability by other parishes, it can, with no propriety, be at all admitted. There is no reason why they should hold out any present relief to the Town Hospital. They do enough, if they send no new cases, and thus afford a sure eventual relief, which will, at length, by the operation of death, become complete and conclusive.

As to the second item, it will be observed that, in our case, it is greater by £28 a-year, than it naturally ought to be from the excess of our imported pauperism. Now, in any argument about the power of imitation by other parishes, this also ought to be deducted. For so soon as it comes to be a question about all the parishes, this expense cannot light on any one of them but by the relief of some of the others. If it operate in one quarter against the system, it will just operate as much in favour of the system somewhere else. And besides, should the plan be adopted generally, this could be provided for by a general arrangement or understanding, whereby each might be as effectually protected from the pauperism of all the rest, as by the law of parochial settlement in Scotland. This law might even be obtained for the parishes of Glasgow.

But, lastly, we are quite sensible, that in several of the parishes a still greater degree of indulgence would be necessary, ere they could be put into the

condition of working back their way to a Scottish economy of pauperism. The parish of St John's obtained a very fair outset by the simple arrangement of being left to its own collection, which, at the time. was £400 a-year, and to its own sessional poor, whose expense, at the time was £225 a-year. The surplus of £175 was then deemed necessary for the contingencies of a yet untried speculation; and it is well, that for the encouragement of similar attempts in other places, the point has not only been carried, but greatly over-carried. Nevertheless, for some such attempts in Glasgow, another arrangement is indispensable. The truth is, that in a good many of the parishes, the collection, instead of exceeding the cost of their sessional poor, falls greatly short of it. Still, however, this does not cause, even in their instance, the experiment to be impossible—it only makes it necessary, that with them there should be a different sort of initial adjustment from that which was granted to us. For ought we know, the expense of the sessional poor in some other parish, may be towards £400 a-year, while their collection may not much exceed £100 a-year. That such a parish might start fair, we would not object to the whole of its sessional poor being devolved on the fund by assessment, even as a great part of them is already so devolved. After this was done, the Kirk-Session of that parish would be in fair circumstances for the trial. It would at the outset have no poor at all—and though it had little more than a hundred a-year of collection, yet, restricted as its expenditure would then be to its new cases only, it would, with our

most simple and practicable management, weather for years the coming applications. It would have to do with nought but our third branch of expenditure, that in three years and a-half has only attained to £66 a-year. And during this period, there has disappeared between one-third and one-half of our old pauperism, that is now going off at a rate of extinction which accelerates every month, and that, in a little time longer, must vanish altogether. As to the old pauperism, there should be the same proportional rate of extinction in all the parishes—and as to the expense of the new cases, it ought not to be greater in any of the parishes. Nay, it could, and it ought to be made less. Had it not been for the pauperism that springs direct from immorality, and which ought to be abolished, our yearly expense for new cases would only have been £47 a-year. And had it not been for the pauperism that springs from the disease which ought to be provided for by the philanthropic institutions of our land, this expense would have been farther reduced to £32 a-year. And when with means so slender, a compulsory pauperism can be wholly superseded, if there be spirit and patriotism in our land, shall that labour of management be withheld, which might avert the footsteps of this baleful visitant from our borders?

This brings us to the second great consideration which enters into the question, whether the process be imitable in other parishes. In as far as the means are concerned, it appears to be abundantly imitable. And it now only remains to unfold the perfect facility of the management.

This second topic we have all along held to be the most triumphant part of our case, though it be the very point on which we have met with the most obstinate incredulity from others, who repeatedly ask, what the mighty and marvellous secret of this management is, or wherein doth the incomprehensible charm of its efficacy lie? Not we are sure in the harsh and repulsive style of it. There have been outcries and exaggerations to our prejudice —and where was there ever an administration of public charity that gave satisfaction to all? But in spite of this, the system is popular. We find it so to our cost. We long for a law of residence, that might protect us from the ingress which the poor have made upon us from the other parishes of Glasgow. The exchange is against us, and this we insist upon as a decisive refutation to the calumny, that the poor are either neglected or maltreated by us.

The whole mystery and power of our management, are resolvable into this. Most of us are convinced, that public charity is a very great evil. Most of us believe it to be a good thing, that we are limited to a small yearly sum for carrying on its distributions, and that we have no temptation to laxity or profuseness in the open access which we before had to the fund by assessment. Most of us think, that we do a service to the population, by dispensing, as carefully as possible, the small revenue wherewith we are intrusted; and these considerations all told with greater practical force upon the deacons who had the treatment of the new applicants committed to them, that they were

restricted to the very humble collection made up chiefly of halfpennies from the parochial congregation. I do not hesitate to say, that my reason for vesting in the deacons the charge of the small evening collection *alone* was, that I felt as if their free access to the large day collection would have insensibly brought on the same relaxation in their management, which access to the Town Hospital did in the management of our elders under the former system. I thought that the work would be the better done, the smaller the provision was that I assigned for the doing of it—for I never once conceived that the success of it depended on the magnitude of our provision, but solely on the truth and efficacy of our principles. These principles the majority of my deacons have in common with myself; and they, accordingly thought, that in warding off the parochial charity, as much as in them lay, from the families under their care, they were warding off from them a very great mischief. And their system of treatment has not, generally speaking, been a system of neglect, but a system of firm and patient, yet withal, kind investigation—the object of which has been, not to facilitate the access of applicants to the parochial charity, but, if possible, to divert it—not to help them on, but rather to help them off—and for this purpose, to try every previous expedient of relief, and to make that humiliating expedient of a supply from the poor's fund, the very last which ought to be resorted to. In the prosecution of this truly benevolent work, many doubtless have been thrown back upon their own resources; some have drawn more largely than

they otherwise would have done, from the kindness of relatives and neighbours; and a few more have had the benefit of certain easy services, and, perhaps, liberalities, from the affluent, that they might not else have experienced. But the success, upon the whole, has been marvellous, and far beyond even my own sanguine anticipations; most delightful to my feelings certainly; and, at the same time, most demonstrative to my understanding, that the dispensations of an artificial pauperism are wholly uncalled for.

But it is not enough to evince the success of this management. A most important point is left untold, if we keep back its perfect facility to the gentlemen concerned in it. On this subject I hold myself exceedingly fortunate in being able to present their own written testimonies. I would urge the perusal of the subjoined note on the middling and higher classes of Glasgow—and I shall indeed rejoice, if it be at all instrumental in opening their eyes to the truth, and, at length, convincing them by how very small a sacrifice of time and labour, they might render a most important service to that community of which they are the members.*

* About two months ago, the following circular was sent round among the Deacons of St John's:—

Glasgow, August 11th, 1823.

Dear Sir,

You will oblige me much by your earliest possible reply to the following Queries:

1. Of what Proportion is it in St John's Parish that you are Deacon?

2. What is its population, as nearly as you can infer, from your latest survey?

3. How many Paupers belong to it that are upon the Deacon's Fund?

This is the *rationale* of the process. A deacon when first appointed to his district, may find it

4. How many applications may you have for Parochial Relief, monthly or quarterly, as near as you can remember?

5. What time may the business of attending to these applications, and the necessary inquiries that you had to make in consequence of them, have cost you upon the whole?

6. Are the applications more or less frequent since you entered upon your office?

7. Could you state how much time you are required to sacrifice, per week, or per month, in making the requisite investigations that you are actually called to?

8. Do you think, that a man in ordinary business would find the task of meeting the pauperism of such a district as yours, so laborious as to put him to any sensible inconvenience?

9. Will you have the goodness to state any circumstances connected with your management, that you think might elucidate the nature of the duties or attentions that you have had to discharge?

I am, Dear Sir,
Yours most gratefully,
THOMAS CHALMERS.

To this we subjoin the following large extracts from their replies, and make no apology to the reader for presenting him with a set of testimonies given by men, whose office and opportunities stamp a purely experimental character on all that proceeds from them.

1. "The latest survey was taken about a month ago, and from it I observe, that this proportion contains 335 inhabitants."

"There is not at present a single pauper in this proportion upon the Deacon's Fund; nor has there occurred either an occasional or permanent case, requiring assistance from this fund, since I received the charge of it in the month of May, 1822."

"The number of applications for relief in this proportion has been very few during the last twelve months, not amounting, to the best of my recollection, to more than seven, or about an average, one every two months."

"Upon a review of these cases, I compute that I may have bestowed upon them about sixteen hours in whole, or about a quarter per week, at the utmost."

"All those applications for relief to which I have alluded, occurred during the first six months after accepting office; which leaves nine months during which I have not had a single application for parish relief."

"Before I could be prevailed upon to take charge of this proportion, I imagined that, in consequence of my professional avocations, it would be quite impossible for me to accomplish

very troublesome at the first, and perhaps alarmingly so. There is among a part of the people a

such an object; but I was very much astonished to find, after a few months' trial, how simple a matter it was, and how easily managed; indeed so light and pleasant did the duty seem, that I thought, if all the other proportions were equally manageable, I could take upon me to manage the whole parish, and attend to my business besides."

"I am of opinion that the first thing necessary to the proper discharge of the office which I hold, is to get immediately acquainted with every *house* and *family* in the proportion; in order to check any imposition which may otherwise be practised, and also to facilitate the investigation of every case which may occur."

"Of those cases which I have above alluded to, *three* were of *runaway husbands*. The first was left with two children, both under three years of age, the youngest at the breast. The second case was left with *four daughters*, under ten years of age, and the youngest at the breast. The third was left about three years before she applied to me, with two children under ten years of age, and an adopted child, for the support of which she had nothing, the father and mother having died some time before."

"All these cases appear at first sight formidable, and seemingly fit for the exercise of unbounded charity, both public and private; but with the exception of the second case, (which by the bye, was one of a very interesting nature) none of them received, nor did they require the hand of ill-timed charity to assist them. It would occupy too much of your valuable time, however, to enter upon the particulars of any of the cases, or explain how *they were treated;* but let it suffice to add, that had liberal means been afforded in those cases to supply their apparent wants, their husbands would never have been found out, and they and their children would have been at this moment in more abject poverty than at their first application."

"I am sorry that I should have taken up so much of your time in reading over this long answer to your important queries; but I thought it incumbent on me to say so much, in defence of a system, the advantages resulting from which, both to the moral and religious character of a people, I have had now so ample an opportunity of judging."

The testimony here respecting the runaway husbands, is peculiarly important, and marks the close connexion that obtains between the abolition of pauperism, and the virtue of families.

2. "Population 320."

"No paupers on the Deacon's Fund."

"The applications, including those for temporary aid, will scarcely amount to one in four months."

very natural expectation from him, and urgency upon him at the outset of his ministrations—and it

"About two hours in three months, required for the whole business of attending to the various applications."

"The applications are less frequent now than when I entered upon my office; the first two years being years of peculiar distress."

"I do not think, that the task of managing the pauperism of my district, would put a man, in ordinary business, to any sensible inconvenience."

"To the right and efficient discharge of my office as deacon, I deem it necessary to be well acquainted with all the families of my proportion, that I may be enabled to distinguish betwixt those who deserve parochial aid, and those who do not, and with this knowledge I am enabled to mingle my sympathies with the industrious and well deserving, and to offer the check of my disapproval to any thing improper. The advice and assistance of friendship, in cases of family trial or difficulty, I have known to have been well received, and sometimes of great importance to poor families."

The district to which the above testimony relates, is one that contains many poor families, including, as it does, the east side of Saracen's Lane.

3. "Population 466."

"Not one pauper at present."

"Have one application every five months nearly, and have had none for six months and a half past."

"If the question as to the time necessary for doing the work of a deacon, refer merely to the time required to investigate the cases, I would say an hour in five months; but if to attendance at the Examination of Schools, making up of list of population, attendance at the church for the evening collection, going to the several houses about the church seats, &c. then the time must be very considerably greater; probably, from the calculation made in a general way from memory, about one hour and a quarter per month. There would be no sensible inconvenience incurred by any man from being a deacon, if his duties are solely confined to the pauperism."

"Although I have acted as a deacon for about twenty-seven months, yet the cases have been so very few, that my experience has been very limited, and consequently I am not able, I think, to suggest any thing which is likely to be useful. I may, however, just remark, that I think the two most requisite qualities in a deacon are, *kindness* and *firmness*—*kindness*, that the people may be perfectly persuaded he is endeavouring to do every thing for their good—*firmness*, that he may be able to resist pathetic but ill-grounded applications for relief. If he also possess some

is in the power of a very few to keep him in considerable perplexity and occupation for some time.

knowledge of the habits and character of the poor, he will be more likely to be able to be of service to them, and will run less risk of being imposed upon."

This last testimony, besides its general importance, is very valuable, in that it adverts to the distinction between the duties which attach to the management of the pauperism, and other duties which have been accidentally attached to the office of deacon in the parish of St John's. How it should dissipate all the exaggerating fancies that obtain upon this subject, when it appears, that in their fullest enumeration, they do not require in the above instance, more than an hour and a quarter per month.

4. "My district contains, according to a late survey, ninety-six families, and a population of 448."

"The only case I have on the Deacon's Fund, is that of a foundling child, which was exposed in the district, nearly three years ago, then not above a few weeks old."

"I can only state having had one other application for relief, namely, from an old man and his wife, who had not completed their residence in the city."

"I am safe in stating the time taken up in visiting and attending to the foundling child, at not more than one hour in the three months. The other case may have occupied, in disposing of it, from one to two hours altogether."

"In a district such as mine, certainly a person in ordinary business could not find himself put to inconvenience in regard to the time taken up with the actual cases that may occur; and were his attentions undivided by other philanthropic objects, he might find abundance of leisure for entering on the various direct and indirect modes of checking the growth of pauperism."

"In this district, there are only about forty families, who may be ranked among the working classes, and with these I have had almost no trouble. My experience, therefore, does not carry me so far as to give the result of any particular system of treating applications for parochial assistance. The case mentioned of the old man and his wife, was disposed of by giving them half-a-crown, and calling upon the session of their former parish, by letter, in future to attend to the application."

"In order to maintain or produce a right feeling in a district, I conceive it necessary, that the deacon should make himself acquainted with all its families, endeavouring especially to obtain an accurate knowledge of the circumstances of those who seem likely to become applicants; and having arrived at this knowledge, he has reached the most advantageous ground for his subsequent operations. Does he meet with a genuine case of distress?

But let him meet with strict investigation one and all of the applications that are made, and this at

he may invite the sympathy and private charity of the neighbourhood towards it, and thereby provide for the sufferers in a far more ample manner than by a parish contribution. A case in my district, of a poor woman, long under a lingering illness, and which terminated in her death, might be adduced to show how much even of comfort sometimes arises out of private charity: This person was unable, for a considerable time, to maintain herself by her own earnings, and yet no desire was manifested for parish aid; the neighbours, and those who had heard of her situation, came forward in her behalf, so that she appeared to stand in need of nothing that was necessary."

"But should the idle or worthless threaten to become clamorous, the deacon will be peculiarly benefited by his previous acquaintance with their dispositions and habits, and he may, even by some little act of kindness or temporary relief, be the means of stirring up exertions which will produce much more than the parish could allow—a little forbearance, and a few trifling marks of attention, have a wonderful effect in calming down the most insolent, and of changing their tone by degrees into an opposite strain. You may recollect, when I visited the district along with you, to give intimation of an address in the church, we met from one man the most repulsive reception: afterwards, by way of experiment, I several times visited the family, got the length of being tolerably well received, and lately having, by accident, met the man, (for he has been some months out of the district) he stopped and spoke most cordially; said he was 'now doing fine,' and that his children were at school."

"Besides these, which may be termed the ordinary means of checking pauperism, there are others which operate powerfully in an indirect way; such as, endeavouring to persuade the people to take advantage of the Savings' Bank; circulating among them religious and philanthropic intelligence; having occasional meetings with them for reading such sort of intelligence, where the higher and lower classes of the same neighbourhood, in a manner come in contact with one another, as well as with the district agency."

"I am indeed sorry to say, that owing to various reasons, this district of your parish has been little cultivated agreeably to the above principles, and for this I ought to apologise. I felt loath to resign altogether my situation in your excellent court of deacons; otherwise I should have confined my attentions to another quarter of the city, which abounds with profligacy and ignorance —the district where my Sabbath School is planted."

5. "In reply to your queries, I beg to state, that I have charge

last will act upon them by a preventive influence—and they simply cease to apply. If it be his ob-

of the poor of a proportion in St John's parish, whose population amounts to 314, according to a very recent survey."

"There is only one regular pauper, an orphan boy, and two who get occasional assistance."

"I should imagine the applications for even occasional aid, do not exceed one monthly."

"I have spent a good deal of time in the proportion, but think an hour every week would be sufficient to investigate into the state of the poor."

"Applications for relief are less frequent, because work has latterly been much more abundant."

"From what I know of the mode of conducting business in Glasgow, I think any man might, without sensible inconvenience, if he have the inclination, attend to the pauperism of such a proportion as mine, provided his dwelling house be not very remote from the proportion of which he has charge."

"It appears to me, if a deacon simply confine his charge of a district to granting an allowance to those who have a legal claim to relief, his labour will be very small indeed; but if he take an interest in procuring work for those who find a difficulty in getting it—if he endeavour to get the parents to send their children to school—if he give occasional assistance to those who require it from sickness—he will find a good deal of employment, and require to exercise some discretion not to do harm where he wishes to confer a benefit."

"The most unpleasant thing to be met with, as far as I have seen, are people who profess to be religious, but who, either from want of principle or industry become a burden, either as direct paupers, or, what is worse, borrowers of money, which they can never repay."

"P.S. You are aware the population of this proportion consists of very poor people; there is only one family above the rank of operatives."

The district to which the above testimony relates is about the poorest in Glasgow. I offer the following very important notice in regard to this district, from a former deacon who had the charge of it, but was obliged to quit it upon leaving town:—"Though foreign to our subject, I may state that I have received £2 2s. out of the proportion, to assist an outfit of emigrants to Quebec; and £5 or £6 from among the very poorest of them for Bible and Missionary Societies. These sums tend to prove that any of our proportions might be supported from its own resources."

6. "In answer to your queries of 11th August, I have to state

ject to guide them as much as he may to their own resources, all who are conscious of such resources

that the population, as nearly as I can infer from the present year's survey, is 394 persons."

"No paupers at present."

"There are three or four applications per quarter. Few of these applications come before the Court of Deacons, in consequence of my providing work for those who are able."

"The time necessary is so trifling as is not worthy of being noticed. Not twenty hours per annum."

"The applications considerably less than at first; say one to four or five."

"In reply to your 8th query, I have to say, none whatever."

"The duties are simple, few in number, and easily overtaken. Good will and affectionate interest in the affairs of the poor, with minute and persevering inquiry in every case to prevent imposition, will enable the deacon almost to eradicate pauperism from his district."

The above district I may state, as being a very noticeable feature in Glasgow, includes the whole of Barrack Street.

7. "This proportion consists of 69 families, or 275 adults and children."

"There are no paupers receiving permanent aid."

"The applications for parochial relief quarterly, may average about two."

"The time required in attending to the applications, &c., may have occupied about an hour and a half quarterly."

"The applications are less frequent since I entered upon office."

"I think that a man, in ordinary business, could, without any sensible inconvenience to himself, meet the task of attending to the pauperism of such a district as mine."

"There are no circumstances which I consider peculiar in the management of my proportion, or worthy of notice in this statement."

8. "I beg to submit to you the under-noted answers to your queries of the 11th instant, in so far as I have had experience.

"I have charge of a proportion, the population of which, according to the last survey, is 324."

"At present there is no pauper on the fund from this proportion."

"During last year I have had two cases on the fund, and one application for relief. One of the two is now dead, the other has removed to another proportion of the parish; and the application for relief was a labourer, for whom work was procured."

"In consequence of the small number of applications, the time required for inquiry has been very trifling."

will shun the detection and the disgrace attending an unworthy application. At the same time, his

"The applications are less frequent.

"I consider a person would sustain no sensible inconvenience, from attending to the inquiry necessary for investigating the applications from this proportion."

9. "I beg leave to subjoin my answers to your queries of the 11th August.

"I am deacon of a proportion of St John's parish, where there are 102 families, 467 persons."

"I have one pauper only."

"I have had not exceeding one application quarterly, on an average of the last two years; and spent perhaps an hour on each application. The applications are much less frequent than at the outset."

"It would, most certainly, not in the smallest degree be inconvenient for a man in business to fulfil the duties of a Deacon. When no less than three proportions were under my charge, and the applications numerous in proportion to what they are now, then they might have been inconvenient to a man much engrossed in business, but I could not even then give the necessary duties the appellation of laborious."

"I cannot offer any thing to elucidate the nature of the duties attached to the office of Deacon, they are of so simple a nature; I may, however, say, that my practical experience has proved, to my entire satisfaction, that by strict investigation of the applicant's situation, and the treating of the case according to its circumstances, is all that is awanting to diminish the number of applications."

The important peculiarity of this testimony lies in the deposition that is given with regard to the necessary time and trouble that are supposed to attend the investigations of our pauperism. For want of agents, there was a very large department of the parish given to the gentleman who has favoured me with the last communication, and which has since been divided into three districts or proportions, one of which he now retains—and it is to this that the preceding narration refers. At the time that he had the management of all the three districts, Glasgow was in circumstances of extraordinary and unprecedented distress. Yet even then, he affirms, "that he could not give the necessary duties the appellation of laborious." I must say, that I have often felt a very great degree of comfort in this experience, for it has proved how invulnerable the system is in this respect, that it could stand the desertion of a great part of its agency. It cannot, with this view, be too much impressed on the deacons, that though one or more should find it necessary to relinquish

own sentiment as to the evil and the disgrace of public charity, insensibly spreads itself among the

their duties, yet, without any sensible addition to their burdens, the proportion that has been thus resigned might for a time be undertaken till a successor is found. And we know of nothing that is better fitted to overcome the antipathies or the scruples of those who are applied to for this object, than the host of testimonies which we are enabled, by the deacons themselves, to give in behalf of the perfect facility wherewith all the necessary duties can be discharged.

10. "I am deacon of a proportion where, by the last survey, the population consists of sixty families, and 285 individuals."

"There are no paupers at present upon the deacons' fund."

"I have been deacon for two years, and, during that period, have had only three applications."

"As I live close to the proportion of which I am deacon, I have ready access to information respecting it: I may state half an hour each time to have been devoted to make the necessary inquiries."

"The whole business of the office of deacon does not occupy me above an hour and a half in the month."

"I am of opinion, that however closely engaged in business a person may be, the duties attending the office of deacon can put him to no sensible inconvenience."

"The business of deacon being merely to investigate the applications for relief, to ascertain that the applicants are proper objects for it, and to make the payments, when they are admitted on the roll, it must be obvious that the duties are so simple and so easily performed, that I am able to state little in elucidation of them. I may state, however, with respect to my proportion, that except eight or nine families in middling circumstances, the proportion consists of poor people."

It deserves to be remarked here, that though the people are poor, and the deacon is at hand, yet that his vicinity does not expose him to any weight, or overwhelming urgency of applications. This holds true also of the case of No. 9. proving, that for the right management of pauperism, it is not at all necessary to flee the applications, but resolutely, and, we may add, withal, kindly and humanely to canvass them.

11. "In compliance with your request, I send you the following answers to the Queries contained in your circular of 11th August."

"I am deacon of a proportion whose population, from last survey, is 284."

"There are no paupers, on either the deacons' fund, or on the session, within the proportion."

population; and the more surely, if there be perfect frankness in his intercourse, and perfect friend-

"N.B. I think it proper to add, that though this is the case, the proportion is one of the poorest in all St John's parish, only three families of the population being above the rank of labourers or journeymen mechanics."

"The only time I have been called upon to spend in the more immediate duties of a deacon, was that in which I was engaged, in consequence of a family, the parents of which were put into Bridewell for swindling. They left two children, and the arrangements, in getting the children provided for during the parents' confinement, and in getting the parents again to take charge of the children, after their liberation, might occupy me, upon the whole, perhaps two days. I have had no other applications."

"The time I have devoted to the general duties of my office has certainly not been such as to be any serious inconvenience to any person, as it has been principally occupied in getting acquainted with the people, and could, therefore, be made to suit my own convenience."

"From my experience in this proportion, and also, in that part of the Saltmarket over which I have acted as Sabbath School Teacher, I am of opinion, that the great point for a deacon to attend to, in warding off pauperism, is in his giving a ready attention to the real wants and distresses of the people—in procuring them work when in want of it—in furnishing medical aid in trouble—and in showing the utmost readiness to aid and alleviate any unavoidable evils, such as insanity, dumbness, blindness, &c. and, at the same time, in giving the most decided opposition to all claims that are the effect, or visible produce of vice, idleness, intemperance, or improvidence."

The deacon who has favoured me with the above deposition is also a local Sabbath School Teacher, in a part of the city now out of my parish; the district which belongs to him, in this latter capacity, comprising two closses in the Saltmarket. I have great value for the assurance, that he has often made to me verbally, that he is persuaded how, within the limits of this little territory, there is enough both of ability and good-will to provide for all the indigence that is to be found; though it really belongs to one of the most indigent quarters in the whole city.

12. "In reply to your Queries, I beg leave to make the following statements."

"The proportion which I visit, as deacon in St John's parish, is one whose population, per census of last year, 1822, was above 430 souls."

"There are, at present, five regular paupers on the deacons'

ship in his regards towards them. It is thus, that in ordinary times, he may conduct them, in a very

fund in my proportion; one of these came into it, about two months ago, from another proportion."

"I have never kept an account of the number of applications for relief from the funds of St John's parish, of those who are inadmissible on account of want of right, but may safely state the number to be at least two in each month."

"This proportion being in the immediate vicinity of my house, one hour and a half is about the average time, per month, for making the necessary inquiries relative to the situation of these applicants."

"In the year 1821 the number of paupers who received relief might average as $2\frac{1}{2}$ permanently. In the year 1822, the average was about three. At present the number is five, besides a fresh application, at present under consideration by the court of deacons."

"From the proportion being in my immediate neighbourhood, I find it no hardship to attend to the necessary business of this district, because I can make the time convenient for myself. Were it at a distance, on account of the many engagements which I necessarily have, in the management of a tolerably extensive concern, I should probably have to drop the charge of the district."

13. "Population 350."

"Two paupers."

"During last year I may have had irregular applications for aid, at the average of one every three months."

"From half an hour to an hour each application."

"When compared with the first year, 1820, that I had charge of this district, the applications are greatly reduced; indeed more than one-half."

"Each investigation may occupy from half an hour to an hour; but the time spent generally in making inquiry into the different cases, may not have been more than an hour, at an average, every three months."

"I consider that a man, in ordinary business, would not find it a difficult task in meeting the pauperism of this district; nor would the attention it requires, put him to any sensible inconvenience."

"In the outset of my taking charge of this proportion, January, 1820, I was very doubtful of the success of the present system; at least, I had great fears that it would require much more attention, as well as expense, to meet the different cases, than I was led to understand would be necessary. The stagnation of trade, at that time, was very great, and work difficult to be procured; and it certainly required some additional trouble and

few weeks, to a habit of most mild and manageable quiescence—a habit from which, if they are not

attention, for the first while at least, to meet all the applicants who then sought temporary aid. Those, however, that were out of employment when work was obtained, showed a willingness to apply to it, rather than take relief from the parish."

"The first thing I adopted was, to take a list of the population of the whole district, each family by itself; stating the number of individuals, profession, and probable earnings, and, in addition, noted whatever remarks that occurred of the apparent circumstances of the family. This I renewed annually, and from these statements, when applications are made, I have recourse to this check upon the applicants themselves, and which, with an immediate inquiry into the case, from the testimony of the neighbours, and any other information otherwise that may be obtained, I judge of the situation of any particular individual or family."

"I am convinced, that the immediate readiness of the deacons, at all times, to procure employment for such as may find any difficulty, serves as a check against the lazy and indolent, from applying for aid; and the strict scrutiny adopted in all cases, of whatever nature, operates as a preventative, in many instances, against individuals, or their friends for them, from begging relief from the parish funds."

"The experience of nearly four years of the charge of the poorest proportion of the parish, has fully convinced me of the entire practicability of the system now adopted for the management of the poor of St John's: and I have just to repeat, that I am certain that I should find it no task whatever to meet the pauperism of double the number contained in this district; nor would the attention that might be required, put me to any sensible inconvenience whatever."

14. "I beg to note below, replies to queries contained in your card of the 11th. I am deacon of a proportion whose population is 417, from the last survey."

"No paupers belong to it that are upon the deacons' fund."

"I do not remember having had more than one application these three months."

"The time required in attending to the business of these applications, and making the necessary inquiries, is about an hour each."

"The applications are less frequent since I entered upon my office."

"In making the requisite investigations that I am actually called to, I do not require to sacrifice more than an hour and a-half quarterly."

"A man in ordinary business, would not find the task of meet-

disturbed by new methods of administration, by changes of system, and reports of great things to

ing the pauperism of such a district as I have so laborious as to put him to any sensible inconvenience."

15. "In answer to the queries addressed to me as one of the deacons of St John's parish, I beg to state, that I have the charge of a proportion whose population, by the last survey, was 240."

"There are no paupers in it on the deacons' fund."

"For the last two years, I think I can confidently say, that in whole I have not had above six applications for parochial aid. I suppose the average, since October, 1819, may be taken at six annually."

"So far as I can recollect, it has cost me, on an average, about two hours monthly."

"At first I had a great many calls upon me, but for the last two years they have diminished greatly."

"I would consider an hour and a half monthly as sufficient to make all the requisite inquiries into cases that are now likely to apply."

"To speak from experience, I would say, that no man, unless overburdened with business, would find himself put to any inconvenience by taking charge of such a district as mine."

"With regard to the general management of the district, I have nothing particular to state; I may, however, mention, that since October, 1819, it has cost the fund fully £16, about £13 of which was expended in the first two years of my connection with the parish. This sum was mostly given to needy families who had no legal claim upon us, and arose from the depressed state of our mercantile affairs. The amount paid to cases who had a legal claim upon us, in nearly three years, is about £6 10s."

"I have the firmest belief that the same system which has so successfully been carried on in St John's parish, may be extended to all the other parishes in Glasgow; and although at the outset they will have difficulties to surmount, yet a similar result may be expected, and not only fewer paupers will be found, but fewer idlers, and more comfort among the families. I hope the fabric you have raised will be perpetuated, for the sake of the happiness of the working classes of this city."

16. "The following are my replies:—That I belong to a proportion of St John's parish whose population, as near as I can infer from my latest survey, is 506."

"That there is one pauper (Irish) belonging to it upon the deacons' fund."

be done, and great things intended for them, they will persevere in for ever.

"That the applications for parochial relief have been equal to one every six months."

"That the time the business of attending to the applications, and making the necessary inquiries in consequence of them, has, from the nature of the cases, been quite trifling—about one hour for each."

"That the applications were considerably more numerous during the first year I entered upon the office than they have been since."

"That the task of meeting the pauperism of such a proportion would not put a man in ordinary business to any sensible inconvenience."

"I think the population of my district are particularly desirous of receiving frequent visits; and that it would be very important to have the agency belonging to it so situated as to enable them to gratify their desire in this respect."

17. "I am deacon of a proportion containing 447 persons by this year's survey."

"Only one regular pauper."

"For the last year I think they will not average more than one application per month, and some of them had no claim upon St John's funds; others were repeated by the same persons, for I have never had more than one regular pauper since the beginning of the parish."

"Not more than one hour per month."

"The applications are much less frequent, and have been very few indeed for the last year."

"In peculiar and urgent cases, a temporary inconvenience may be felt by a deacon; but in the general I do not hesitate to reply, that the task is by no means laborious, and to a man in ordinary business may be performed with little or no inconvenience."

"At the commencement of St John's parish, I resided in the immediate neighbourhood of my proportion, the population of which then was from 1100 to 1200 persons. Among a number of them I found a keen appetite for parochial aid, and an impression that it was to be more easily acquired by the new arrangements in St John's parish. By the making of a survey of the whole proportion, by living almost among them, and frequent conversation with them, I not only acquired a tolerable knowledge of the characters and dispositions of the people, but I think removed, in some degree the notions they had conceived; for during the months I had the charge of from 11 to 1200, not one regular pauper was taken on."

"I was relieved of about one-half of this number about the

The following statement I hold to be peculiarly important, as evincing the comparative rates of in-

beginning of winter, which set in along with a great commercial stagnation, which cast many out of employment for a time, and lowered the wages of all the weavers (of which class my district was chiefly composed); I did all I could in the way of procuring work for the unemployed, and was getting on tolerably well, till a general public subscription was made, and soup kitchens erected. This again (like the commencement of the parish) excited a certain class in my district to have at the subscription, and a deputation waited upon me for this purpose. I reasoned the matter with them, and the consequence was, that not more than one person residing in the district received aid from it, and that aid very trifling: and although I had a large parcel of tickets for obtaining soup, I never needed to distribute more than one or two of them, if so many. And from the circumstance of my living so near my district, and being often among them, there scarcely could be one extra case of distress out of my knowledge."

"In all my experience, as regards pauperism, I have had very few applications from the regularly sober and industrious, but most of them by those of a very opposite character. To the first class a little attention and kindness will make the case easily managed; but with the latter class, it requires caution in taking in their reports, till a proper investigation is made, and a firmness in acting agreeable to the circumstances; and although the case may appear urgent and distressing at first view, a temporary aid often gets them through. Upon the whole, I am convinced that a particular knowledge of the characters and dispositions of the individuals of a proportion, and acting with kindness and attention to the sober and industrious poor, and with civility and firmness to those of the opposite character, is all that is necessary to reduce pauperism."

The author of this very important testimony had, at the outset of our proceedings, the charge of Nos. 15, 16, and 17, from our want of agents. There is a peculiar worth in his experience regarding the effect of the general subscription. The truth is, that we had proceeded in our operations for a few months, and every thing went on most prosperously and smoothly till this great and ostensible effort was made for the whole of Glasgow. It induced a very natural restlessness among our own population —and then it was that we all felt the commencement of our difficulties. It may be thought invidious to signalize any one of my friends, when I feel so much my obligations to all. But I may at least be permitted to say of the gentleman connected with the very large and populous department, on the border of which his house was situated, that throughout the whole dreary season of

flux, under the present and former systems of pauperism. The parish of St John's was formed out

Glasgow's greatest commercial distress, he had certainly, of all his coadjutors, the greatest pressure to sustain.

18. "In reply to the queries contained in your circular, I have to state, that my proportion in St John's parish contains a population, by the last survey of June, 1823, of 300."

"There is only one case of pauperism connected with the proportion at present—it is of three years and a half standing."

"I have had only four regular cases altogether. The whole population of my district are operatives, or labourers, many of them Irish. In November 1819, when I was appointed deacon, the greater part of them were in absolute starvation from want of work. I had consequently many applications for about five months, which were greatly increased by the distribution at Hutcheson's Hospital. During that period, I supplied with various relief about one-third of the families under my charge, not one of which would have been called forth in ordinary times."

"As I was an entire stranger to the duties of my office, as well as the people committed to my charge, it required a great sacrifice of my time at first, often three or four hours in a day; but that pressure has long passed away, and I now reap the benefit of it in a pretty thorough knowledge of almost every family in the district."

"I have brought no case under investigation for ten months. I had indeed two applications within that time, but after a little conversation, they both voluntarily withdrew."

"Taking the survey, may occupy three or four hours per annum. The deacons' meetings and investigations connected therewith, two to three hours a month, but I have had no call on my time from the pauperism of my own district, for many months, except signing a few papers exempting from the Cottage Tax."

"With a little experience, I see nothing to prevent a person in ordinary business, to manage such a district as mine without inconvenience."

"I consider it most important for a deacon to be intimately acquainted with every family under his charge, and there is no way he can acquire that knowledge so well, as by frequent visitation; besides, the very frequency of his visits gives him a stronger interest in their *well-doing*, not to mention the reciprocal feeling it creates towards himself, while he is furnished with a store of useful information for every emergency."

"I have not been able to persevere in visiting regularly, but it is not from the fear that my presence would increase the applications for parish aid. I think, were we required to give our

of parts taken from three parishes; one part from the Tron church parish, of which I myself was

pastor monthly a written report, it might be of great benefit to ourselves. It ought to be a deacon's aim to behave with as much kindness as possible, to listen patiently to every application, do his utmost to procure work when it was wanted, and, what is perhaps more difficult, to resist, with sturdy firmness, every improper claim, in spite of abuse, or popular clamour."

I have here to express my acknowledgments for the information that I have received from such monthly reports of their districts, as the gentlemen connected with them were pleased to furnish, and, more particularly, to the author of the last communication. The truth is, that this practice languished, but from what cause?—purely from the want of materials. The people when conducted to a natural state, at length, offer nothing to call forth the observation of those, whose ostensible office it is to manage the affairs of their pauperism. "They sheathe the sword for lack of argument." Their attentions are finally superseded—a circumstance which might, at length, attach an insipidity, and even an unimportance to their office, but which, in itself, affords the strongest verification of the truth of our principles.

19. "In reply to yours of the 11th, I subjoin answers to the Queries you put."

"My proportion has in it 282 persons, and only one pauper on the deacons' fund."

"The applications are one quarterly; not more."

"The time requisite for investigation is one hour in a quarter."

"The rate of application is much the same; perhaps less frequent."

"There is not the least inconvenience to a man of business, in his being a deacon. If he could spare even as much as ten or fifteen minutes in a week, it would fully suffice for my proportion, judging by the past."

"The nature of the duties of a deacon, so far as I have had experience, appears to be, simply to procure work for those who cannot get employment, and investigating the rights to relief of those who are in destitute circumstances."

"The answers to the above queries do not include the time taken up in attending the monthly meetings of the court; neither the time employed in taking the annual survey. The latter can easily be accomplished in an afternoon."

20. "Agreeably to your request, I beg leave to send the following answers to your Queries."

"I am deacon of a proportion, whose population, in June, when I took my last survey, amounted to 427."

minister for nearly four years, previous to my becoming minister of St John's—another from the

"There are no paupers on the deacons' fund, in my proportion, except an exposed child, which was lately laid down at the door of a house in my proportion."

"I have had no applications for parochial relief, but I have occasionally had applications from poor people, to assist them in procuring work; and even under any incidental distress, or any occasional deficiency of work, any trifling or temporary aid has rarely been solicited."

"As the applications which have been made to me were generally for work, and never for parochial relief, I did not consider it necessary to occupy any portion of my time in making inquiries into their circumstances, so that, calling on, or writing a note to an acquaintance to procure them work, was all the service they generally required."

"The applications have latterly been less frequent."

"As I have not had occasion to make any investigation, I have not been called to make any sacrifice of time farther than I have already stated."

"I have, as yet, found no inconvenience from attending to the poor in my proportion; and I am of opinion, that no one in ordinary business would find the management of pauperism, in such a proportion, any sensible inconvenience."

"Although I am known to all the people in my proportion, having, besides partial visitations, twice visited every family residing in it, yet as I have been so little required to attend to the necessities of the poor, I have acquired little experience which I can offer for the information of others; and the only information I can give is, that I have experimentally found, I had almost nothing to do; and this want of business renders me almost unable to state any circumstances, connected with my management, which can elucidate the nature of the duties or attentions which a deacon has to discharge to his people."

"The only pauperism which exists in my proportion connected with the deacons' fund, is an exposed child, and on this I may state, from my own little experience, which accords with what I have frequently heard from those who have had longer experience, that the greatest portion of pauperism originates in immorality, exposed children, husbands who desert their wives and families, or idle and profligate parents, who prosecute no regular employment for the maintenance of their families, and who form the most frequent, and the most difficult cases of distress."

The gentleman connected with the above district underrates very much the worth of his own testimony, if he hold it to be unimportant from the paucity of his facts and informations.

Outer Kirk parish—and a third, but very small part, from the Inner High. The number admitted

This very paucity is, in itself, most valuable to be known; and I am not aware of a more precious experience than that which has been so abundantly furnished by himself and others, even that, in some of our most plebeian districts, there has been little or nothing to do.

21. "In answer to yours of the 11th instant, I beg leave to state, that I am deacon of a proportion in St John's parish which contains 100 families, consisting of 412 individuals, all of the working class, and most of them weavers."

"There is only one pauper upon the deacons' fund, in it, who receives 2s. 6d. per month, and is most thankful for it. He is between sixty and seventy years of age—a Roman Catholic."

"The number of applications for relief I may have in a month or a quarter, I am quite at a loss to state; but taking the average of the last three years, I think they cannot exceed one in a quarter."

"I cannot, with any certainty, state the time these applications may have taken to attend to them, but should suppose, that an hour of inquiry to each would be the extent of it."

"The applications are much less frequent since I became acquainted in the district."

"I am most decidedly of opinion, that the superintendence of a district, such as the one I am appointed to, can be no inconvenience to any man, in any business."

"I have always, when I had it in my power, given work to the poor in place of aliment, with which, in general, they were well pleased. I have, in two instances, where a husband left his wife and family, refused them any aid, and the consequence was, that the husband, in the one instance, came back to his family; and in the other, that the family found out the husband. Had the court of deacons interfered in this case, and given support to the family, apparently destitute of a husband and father, we should never have seen or heard any thing of the husband: but the refusal of all aid from the court of deacons, was the only cause, I am fully persuaded, of bringing the family together."

I do entreat the best attention of my readers to the last part of this communication, and that they will compare it with a similar testimony in No. 1. The most burdened proportion of our parish arises from a case of lunacy, that ought most liberally to be provided for, and cases of runaway husbands, which I humbly apprehend ought not, in a public and ostensible way, to be provided for at all. I most assuredly would not say so, did I believe that the starvation of a deserted family was to be the consequence. This, in the first place, will never happen—while,

on the sessional rolls from these three parts, that form the whole present ground of St John's parish,

in the second place, the withdrawment of the parochial guarantee would make such unnatural conduct far less frequent.

22. "In reply to the queries contained in your circular of the 11th ult., I beg to state, that I am deacon of a proportion of St John's parish, which contains a population of about 500. There are two who receive regular aliment from the deacon's fund. I have given no temporary aid during the last six months, and as far as I can remember, I have had no applications for any during the last twelve months. I have had about six applications altogether, one of which was for pecuniary aid, and the others for work. Since the commencement of our operations in St John's parish, the time occupied by me in attending to, and investigating the applications, may be about 24 hours, two-thirds of which were spent during the first twelve months; in the course of the second year, the other eight hours were requisite, and latterly the business has become quite a sinecure, as far as labour is concerned. In attending to cases in my own district, and investigating along with other deacons, in this I may have spent about six hours in the last twelve months, and as I consider this about the average time necessary to the other deacons, it is my opinion, that a man in ordinary business would be put to no sensible inconvenience in attending to the pauperism of any of our districts."

"I have succeeded in procuring work for a number of them, who are very grateful for it, and one, who had applied for money, but for whom I got winding, remarked to me sometime thereafter, that I had done them a greater benefit than if I had granted their first request."

I have other three districts in my parish, one of which is exempted almost from the possibility of its having paupers; and the other two of which are at present without deacons, and have been placed under the temporary charge of those to whom they do not properly belong. I sincerely hope from the *exposé* which has now been given of the perfect facility, and, I may add, pleasure, attendant on the occupation, that they will not long remain vacant. The gentlemen will at length find, that the pauperism is a mere bagatelle—but still for the sake of that refining and tranquillizing effect which the mere friendly attentions of the upper classes have on the working classes of society, I should like to see a representative of our system in every proportion of the parish. He may so manage, as at length to have nought whatever to do with the distribution of public alms—but he may stimulate the cause of education—he may give direction to the habits of economy—he may do a thousand nameless offices

between the months of October, 1815, and April, 1819, being a period of three years and a half, was at least 62—whereas the number admitted by ourselves from October, 1819, to April, 1823, which is also a period of three years and a half, was only 20. But it must be further taken to account, that during the former period, there were not only 62 admitted upon sessional rolls, but a certain number of the more aggravated cases behoved to pass directly into the Town Hospital, without taking the intermediate road of the Kirk-Sessions at all. Of the twenty that we have admitted upon our roll, eight were of that aggravated description that never would have been encountered by the Kirk-Session under the old regimen, but would have been passed directly to the Town Hospital. There were only twelve, then, of these twenty that would have appeared on our list, had there been an open avenue to the Town Hospital, as there was during the whole period of the admission of these sixty-two. Or, in other words, the numbers 62 and 12

of kindness—he may evince good will in a variety of ways—he may, even without any expenditure of money, diffuse a moral atmosphere, that will soften and humanize even the most hard-favoured of his people. (See No. 4.) And as the fruit of those very light and simple attentions which are here recorded, he will, at length, feel that he has chalked out for himself a village in the heart of the city wilderness, whose inhabitants compose a very grateful and manageable family.

I only subjoin one word more to a record that might safely be left to its own impression on the heart and understanding of the reader. Will they who have charged us with theory, persist in the charge? Let them only specify then, what the experience is that would satisfy them. If they do the one, and are unable to do the other, then the controversy hath changed its character, and instead of a struggle with the incredulity of human reason, it becomes a mere struggle with the obstinacy of human wilfulness.

represent the proportion between the rates of admission under the old and new systems, and the ingress of paupers is five times less than it wont to be.*

We have great pleasure in recording this fact, not only as it evinces most strikingly the effect of the parochial system, in stimulating the management, but as it serves to demonstrate the spirit wherewith we regard the management that obtains both in the Town Hospital and the other parishes of Glasgow. We are aware of a certain soreness of feeling on the part of some gentlemen connected with these managements—as if we had charged them with laxity and carelessness in the administration of a public trust—and we are sure that this impression, on their part, must have strengthened that hostility wherewith the parochial system has

* By the examination of sessional books, we ascertain how many are the cases which each elder admits for the first time upon his roll. These, however, consist not merely of those who are absolutely new paupers, but paupers who have entered his district, either from the other parishes, or even from other districts of the same parish. On the present ground of St John's parish, the number of such enrolments, between October, 1815, and April, 1819, was considerably upwards of 90. By our allowance for the internal movements from one part of this ground to another, which is necessarily conjectural, we reduced the number to 90 precisely. If, in this allowance, there have been any inaccuracy in our favour, we are pretty confident that it is more than balanced by our further allowance for the imports from without, between October, 1815, and April, 1819. We make them equal to 28, which is the number of imported cases to the same ground between October, 1819, and April, 1823. Now, we have every reason to think, that the importation was stimulated both by the hopes and by the experience of the new system—and the fact that it was double of our exportation, we hold to be decisive on this point. When 28 is taken from 90, it leaves 62 for the number of new cases of pauperism on the present territory of St John's, under the old regimen, in three years and a half.

had to grapple for every inch of its progress. With us, it was never felt to be any other than an abstract municipal question—and, when we affirmed that the affairs of pauperism were better conducted under a separate parochial administration of the voluntary fund, and worse conducted under the general city administration of a compulsory one—it did not once enter our thoughts, that we were either advancing a compliment in behalf of those individuals who were concerned in the former administration, or preferring a charge against the individuals concerned in the latter. Now that the discovery has been made, (and it was only made a few months ago,) that, under the old system, we ourselves* did admit pauperism at a rate five times greater than we do under the present system—it will not be imagined that we would have openly proclaimed this, had we thought that we were thereby exposing our own discredit to the world. The truth is, that when one finds an indefinite command of the means for public charity, he almost, insensibly to himself, is thrown off his guard, and becomes more easy and inadvertent than he otherwise would in the dispensation of it. Even his good feelings, when not accompanied by reflection, will help to mislead him in this particular. And thus it is, that men of the utmost honour and humanity, all over England, as well as among ourselves, have been far less alert in their management

* That part of the old Tron parish which remains attached to St John's, forms about one-half of it—and I can see no sensible difference, in point of laxity or rigour, between the old administration of this portion, and that of the other two that were devolved upon us from other parishes.

than they should have been, with a limited revenue that constrained them to a limited expenditure. The whole question is altogether a public, and in no shape a personal one. We take no praise to ourselves for any of our doings under the present regimen—neither do we take any blame to ourselves for any of our misdoings under the former regimen. The comparison now given, says every thing for the one system and against the other system—but it says nothing for or against the administrators of either. The comparison we hold to be curious, and, at the same time, important, as exhibiting the powerful stimulus that a mere change in the economy of pauperism will give to its management. This in truth is the great secret of the whole operation. The deacon or elder takes much more trouble with each individual case than he did before—yet his trouble is greatly lessened upon the whole, because in consequence of his now stricter investigation, he has greatly fewer applicants than he had before. By the labour of a very few weeks he may purchase to himself the ease of a whole incumbency—and the delightful results, throughout all the parish, are a greatly reduced expenditure, a diminished and still rapidly diminishing pauperism, an agency that feel their offices to be so many sinecures, and notwithstanding all the clamour and calumny of our opponents, a far more tranquil and satisfied population.

We are not making a palinode to the gentlemen of the Town Hospital, but merely uttering a reiteration, when we pronounce them the useful, and efficient, and highly respectable administrators of

a system that is miserably wrong. We are sure that they are doing their work a great deal better than our deacons could do; and if, at this moment, the gentlemen of the agency of St John's, our own particular friends, were to become the office-bearers of a compulsory pauperism, we should have no more faith in a good or prosperous result, from their services, than we have in a better state of things for England, till the people there have abandoned all their modifications of the evil, and have struck a blow at the root of the evil itself. We are not qualified to say, how the gentlemen of the Town Hospital, those praiseworthy and gratuitous servants of the public, could, while the system continues, do better than they are doing; nor are we able to offer any advice for the improving of a system, of which we think, as Charles Fox thought of the Slave Trade, that it ought not to be regulated, but destroyed. We feel confident, that were our elders and deacons to take the place of the directors in the Town Hospital, there would, in the long run, be no benefit rendered to the city; and, on the other hand, we are equally confident, that would any of the directors honour our parish by accepting of its offices, they would soon imbibe the spirit of our system, and very soon be satisfied of its power. A trial is better than an argument. We have often failed to convince the partisans of the old system by our reasonings; but we have succeeded, in more instances than one, by making deacons of them.

The utterance sounds harshly which implies, that the administrators of our city pauperism ought

not to be intrusted with the disposal of that large and indefinite revenue which is raised by assessment. The correct mode of putting it is, that such a revenue ought not to be raised. We did not intrust the deacons of St John's with the large day collection. We did not even intrust the elders of St John's with it either; and we therefore provided an absorbent for its great and accumulating surplus.* But who ever dreamed of any thing so utterly puerile as a feeling of personal offence, because of a supposed personal charge? The truth is, that wherever there is a large disposable fund for the expenses of pauperism, a certain relaxation will gently and imperceptibly insinuate itself into the management. It was to secure an alert administration at the outset, that the deacons were restricted to their very humble revenue. It was to maintain this alertness, that we felt anxious lest the capital of our session should attain to a hurtful excess. And we feel confident, that there is not a Kirk-Session of our city, which, if dissevered from the Town Hospital, and cordially resolved on the side of its own inde-

* We have expended, altogether, £744 5s. 1d. of this surplus on the endowment of our Parish Schools; of this sum £500 was vested with the city corporation, for a permanent salary of £25 a-year, to the English School in M'Farlane Street. The rest was expended on the current salaries of the four teachers. Our ordinary day collection, under the management of the elders, has varied between four and five hundred pounds in the year, or a little upwards; and the surplus now in the hands of the Kirk-Session is £190. There has another of our schools been permanently endowed by a revenue derived from another source. The remaining two, attached to the chapel district, are still unendowed; but it is hoped, that this object will be attained from other sources than either the church or chapel collection.

pendence, could not, in virtue of the same alertness, meet its new pauperism, and with the utmost facility too, even upon its present resources, however scanty.

The first part of what follows relates to the separate management of St John's, and is more especially addressed to the present and future conductors of that management. The second part relates to the means of its extinction, and is submitted, with much deference and regard, both to the city rulers, and to the clergy and elders of the other parishes.

I. And, first, there can be nought more complete than the demonstration which you have made of the efficacy of the parochial system in large towns. That you should, with so little trouble to yourselves, and, on the whole, with so much satisfaction to the parish, have only admitted twenty new cases upon the roll of pauperism, in three years and nine months; and that, during that period, the old pauperism should have melted so fast away, as to leave the whole expenditure for the poor of a plebeian city population, of more than eight thousand souls, at £280* a-year,—this, of itself, and in the midst of perilous and disastrous times, is a practical exhibition, which they who have designed the whole enterprise, as a rash and theoretical innovation, will find, we imagine, very difficult to dispose of.

To us the exhibition is made still more impressive, when we look at the state of the matter, ac-

* The whole present annual expenditure is £308; but of this £28 is for the excess of our imports.

cording to the respective proportions or districts into which the parish is divided. Out of the twenty-five districts, there are twelve where there has not a single pauper been formed since September, 1819; and some of these among decidedly the poorest vicinities in Glasgow. In some of these too, I may be permitted to remark, that the gentlemen who have honoured me by their co-operation, are not in circumstances to intercept the applications for public and parochial aid by any private charities of their own. There may be such liberalities occasionally going amongst us; but most assuredly, these do not form our main protection. I have seldom indeed, applied for this object, to any of my wealthy friends in the congregation: I do not recollect a dozen instances in four years. If there has been any jugglery in our undertaking, let my friends, whom I now leave, and many of whom I have grieved by my departure, let them step forward, and unmask it to the derision of the public. If there has been any conspiracy, for the purpose of deluding the imagination of the citizens into the belief of an erroneous, though favourite theory, let the conspirators, now that their chief hath abandoned them, reveal the secret. The mechanism now lies open to the public gaze; and if they can detect aught of legerdemain in its performance, they have now the ample opportunity. I found the delusion strengthening every year, that our success was due, not at all to the system, but to some marvellous or magical power in the operator who conducted it. The best service, in these circumstances, that can be rendered to the

truth is, for the operator to resign it into other hands; and now that the enterprise has been delivered of that false and bewildering glare which his presence had thrown around it, he has not another wish regarding it, than simply, that its enemies shall forbear their violence, and that its friends shall not abandon it.

There is one circumstance worthy of being adverted to, and that must be quite palpable to you all. A very slight difference in the strictness of the administration, is quite sufficient of itself to create a difference in the amount of pauperism between one district and another. Let any one deacon but relax his management, however slightly, and he may by that, admit some pauperism which another would have shifted, or otherwise disposed of. Let a very few, then, abandon themselves to the habit of easy, unquestioning compliance with any application; and he may very soon form more pauperism among a few hundreds of the population, than would have been formed, under a universally careful superintendence, in a parish of as many thousands. Every such deacon has a powerful auxiliary on the side of pauperism, in the sordid appetencies of our nature; and, therefore, it is, that a very few could overrun their districts with poor, and bring a session to the limit of its resources in a single twelvemonth. It is thus, that it would be the easiest thing in the world for a lukewarm or hostile successor to overthrow the experiment —but the intelligent reader will at once perceive, that its failure in his hands would prove nothing, while its success in the hands of another, and parti-

cularly under the circumstances that have just now been unfolded, proves both certainly and universally, that the supplies of an artificial pauperism, are not indispensable to the well-being of any population.*

But, still, this shows the importance that you remain united in principle—and I trust, that under a successor, who will countenance your pure and philanthropic undertaking, you will never meet with any thing to damp or to dispirit you. You will, surely, not for the few hours of labour and attention that your office requires, lay it down; and that, too, at a time when your perseverance in the good work is of greater importance than ever to the cause of truth. So long as I presided over it, there was a delusion which no success could dissipate, and which every month of my continuance, made more inveterate than before. It is unpleasant for me to allude so pointedly to myself; but there are occasions on which the delicacies of nature ought to be suspended. There were a bustle, and a din, and a publicity, attendant on my various proceedings, that threw a disguise over their real character and tendency. The success, in particular, of my scheme for the management of pauperism, has all along been most grievously misunderstood, and regarded more in the light of a Katterfelto exhibition, than as the result of those sure and steadfast principles, which operate at all times, and throughout the whole extent

* I entreat the attention of the reader to this remark; lest the actual termination of our system should lead him to any rash inference against the soundness of it.

of our nature. Hitherto there are many who have only gaped at it with a sort of blind and stupid wonderment. They may now, perhaps, give themselves leisure to gaze upon it intelligently. You, my friends, know, that the virtue which has been ascribed to me in this matter, is an utter misconception—and that in any higglings which may have taken place between you and the parochial applicants, there was no mystical charm whatever in my name, or in my presence. Only, let me be succeeded by a friendly and an approving clergyman; and you are all confident, that it wholly depends upon yourselves, whether the same exhibition shall be perpetuated or not. I may have called you together; but you, gentlemen, have done the work; and your simply abiding therein for a few years longer, will be a mightier service to the cause, than you have yet rendered to it by the whole amount of your labours. You entered upon the office in the face of many hazards and uncertainties. You will not surely abandon it now that you have put the bugbear to flight, and have turned the office into a sinecure. It is for you, and for you only, to work that conviction which I have failed to awaken—to shed a calm and enduring light over that question on which the public are still so obstinately incredulous—to let them know, that what they have mistaken for a blazing meteor, is nought but every-day truth; and that what they have hitherto regarded as a sanguine experiment in the hands of a daring adventurer, might be turned, at any time, into solid experience, even by the most sedate and sober-minded of our citizens.

I can depone to the effect of both systems on the comfort of the clergyman, having just had four years' experience of the one, and as many of the other. The deacons have already attested the perfect facility of their part in the concern, and I follow up their witness by attesting the equal facility of mine. It is just another delusion, that the plan makes it a laborious parish to any who shall succeed me. It was indeed a labour to combat the opposition that arose against the establishment of the plan—but in the operation of the plan itself, there is no labour. Instead of this, there is a thorough exemption to the clergyman, from the whole care of his parish pauperism—and he is enabled to give the whole of his time to such literary and spiritual labours as are strictly ecclesiastical. All that the system brings upon him is one meeting with his deacons in the month; or, should the system be adopted without deacons, and by elders alone, the only effect of it is to make that regular meeting of his Session, which he must have at any rate, a far blander, and quieter, and more manageable meeting than it was before. It, in fact, assimilates his condition to that of a country clergyman; and he has all the tranquillity of a home walk, instead of that appalling complexity, and controversy, and manifold interruption, which seem to be inseparable from an extended management.

I must not disguise my conviction here, that apart from the support of education and of institutions for disease, public charity, in any form, is an evil—and that the Scottish method is only to

be tolerated, because of its insignificance, and the rooted establishment which it hath gotten in all our parishes. But, though I would tolerate it in practice, I cannot defend it in principle—and I speak according to my firm and experimental impressions, when I say, that a parish might be maintained in far greater comfort, and in a more soundly economic condition, without it altogether. The blind, and the dumb, and the deranged, may, without mischief, be wholly provided for—and philanthropy would soon reach the limit of that exertion, which might be required for the full and permanent relief of all whom Nature had so signalized. And then, after these, we believe, that had it not been for the guarantees of a Kirk-Session, we should have had fewer, or no runaway husbands, perhaps even no exposed infants; and, certainly, been altogether saved from that awkward and pernicious necessity which is sometimes laid on the parochial court, when, by its very allowance for illegitimate children, it seemeth, at least, to accredit the grossest immorality. Take away these sources of pauperism, and our expenditure for the new cases would be reduced to £32 a-year —and I repeat, that in the absence of this dispensation, not one individual would have suffered, and many been far more liberally dealt with. We have one pauper that I recollect, who was admitted to a larger allowance than usual, on the ground of her eminent Christian worth—but this worth was previously recognized by all her acquaintances, and there was a consequent influx of kindness, which, I hope, has not been arrested by our inter-

ference. There was another who came upon our roll, because of her long continued sickness. We could not, and more especially as she had recently come amongst us, give her more liberal treatment than she would experience in the other parishes of Glasgow—and we are glad to learn, that the spontaneous generosity of one private individual in her neighbourhood, far outstript the more showy, but less substantial ministrations of the public body. The truth is, that the very knowledge of her state in the vicinity, soon surrounded her dwelling with a wholesome operation of aid and sympathy. I never found it otherwise. I would have no fear of a parish any where in Scotland, though all claims, and all collections were done away. But I have great fear, of there being much untold and unrelieved suffering in every parish, where the public charity hath attained a magnitude that overbears the charity of nature—where it hath turned the one party into fierce and determined litigants, and put the other on a stout and stern defensive against their applications—where the imagination of a right, that most unseemly and heterogeneous element, which ought never to have been admitted into the business of human sympathy, hath set both gratitude and good-will at abeyance; we greatly fear, that in these circumstances, there is many a desolate and declining family, who sink under the rigours of an artificial system, which they are too delicate to brave—who, perhaps, of gentler mood, cannot brook the humiliations of a public scrutiny, and cannot fight their way through all those rude and repulsive obstacles by which the avenues of

legal charity are guarded. They are unnoticed by neighbours, because a refuge is open to them, which they have not the hardihood to enter. The feeling of private charity is suspended, and there is a frown in public charity that scareth them away.

To realize the best condition of a parish, we do not hold it necessary, however, that the collection shall be done away—but we do hold it most desirable, that it be stript altogether of its legal character; and that the Kirk-Session have the gratuitous and uncontrolled administration of it. Thus delivered, we think that it may be the instrument of many and great services to philanthropy, though never brought to bear on the relief of mere indigence at all. For this last object, a very slight impulse given to the habits of the poor, and the hearts of their wealthier neighbours, would do more than any public offering whatever—and we appeal to any deacon who hath had intimate experience among his families, whether benevolence would not go forth upon its work with tenfold alacrity, when once the popular imagination of a legal right on the one hand, and a certain depressing sense of legal obligation on the other, were wholly done away. There is nothing else wanting, in fact, even in the very poorest departments of our land, to make it a gracious and a practicable task for an individual to undertake any hundred contiguous families; and to earn, by his cheap and easy attentions, a heartfelt gratitude from them all. Our deacons have done marvellously; but they would have done better still, had it not been for the hopes and the claims which attach to the official

situation that they hold—had they stood related to the people in the simple capacity of their well-wishers and friends—had the jealousy and the heart-burnings which legality never fails to engender, been detached from the whole of their intercourse with them, so as to give to each little forthgoing of aid and of service the character of spontaneous kindness, and restore to humanity its own proper guise.

II. I hope, that, by this time, every objection to the imitableness of the parochial system by others, has been conclusively set at rest. It is not by my great day collection, but my small evening one, that the only essential operation of the process hath been done—and done, too, at an expense of management so very trifling, as to be most easily borne, even by the most busy and occupied of the citizens.

There are now two parishes, where the plan hath been completely acted on for a considerable time, and with most unlooked-for success; and there are three where it hath been partially acted upon. It is, perhaps, very natural in these circumstances, for city rulers, whose habitual superintendence is a general one, and over the city as a whole, to seek for the effect of this change on the sum total of the expenditure for the pauperism of Glasgow; and if they find, that this expenditure still grows upon their hands, to ask, what benefit hath accrued to us from the new system? But, though this may be natural, never was any thing more thoroughly erroneous. It is hard, indeed, to make the new system, responsible, not for the expenditure

in those parishes where it is established, but in those also where it is shut out and resisted. If two English counties adopted our retracing process, and succeeded therein, would it be any disparagement upon its efficacy, that still there was an increase of national pauperism in the country at large? The only quarter where to look for the efficacy of the new system, is to the parishes where it has been set up, and has for some time been in actual operation. If, in one of these parishes, there be no compulsory pauperism at all in consequence, and in another of them it be rapidly dying off, and no new accessions are making to it, this is the only proper test, and it is a conclusive one. The general increase of pauperism, notwithstanding, is, in fact, the strongest demonstration that can be given, not of the impotency of the new system, under which it is melting away, but of the mischievous power and virulence of the old, under which it is making head against all the correctives that are applied to it, and notwithstanding all the encroachments that are making upon its territory. From the tables of Mr Cleland, it appears, that the poor rate of Glasgow in 1803, was £3,940, and that in 1820, it was so much as £13,120. At this rate, it would require the most complete and decisive success of at least six of the Glasgow parishes out of the ten, ere the progress of this sore mischief was arrested. When one or two parishes strike off from the Town Hospital, they may retard the increase of pauperism, but it does not follow, that they should prevent the increase. Nevertheless, it is most true, that by

each parish adopting it successively, the whole would, at length, disappear; and that, too, by a smooth and gradual process, which carried none of the hazards of a violent and sudden innovation along with it.

It were, therefore, well, that our city rulers gave every encouragement to each Kirk-Session, that felt disposed for the separate and independent management of their own affairs—and meanwhile, not to be impatient for a general result, or look for any striking or palpable effect, except in the parishes themselves, taken singly. And the only encouragement which even the poorest of the parishes would require, is a good initial arrangement for their existing paupers, and an unfettered control over their own means in the treatment of their future paupers. It were one of the worst ways of helping them, to decree, in their behalf, any part of the sums collected in the wealthier parishes. This would at once relax that stimulus wherein the whole virtue, in fact, of the process lies; and which never can be secured but by each parish being left to its own means, and its own management. There is nought of which the public are more incredulous, and yet nought more experimentally true, than that it is not money which is wanted, but such an impulse given to the sobrieties of humble life, and the sympathies of nature, as under a simple economy of pauperism, would greatly more than supply its place.

But such an arrangement for equalising the collections between poorer and wealthier parishes, would not only destroy the stimulus to good man-

agement in the poorer—it would also most grievously paralyze the management of the wealthier. It was for this reason that I resisted so strenuously every attempt on the surplus of my own collection. I believe that, had these attempts succeeded, there would, in the first instance, have been a much smaller collection; and, in the second instance, I fear, a much less strict and attentive administration. It is not in human nature, that men should be so intent on the prosperity of any operation, when all the fruits of that prosperity are to be seized upon by others, and alienated from the good of their own particular vineyard. It was, therefore, a question of serious concern, how my own surplus, that had accumulated to a good many hundred pounds, should be disposed of. It was of importance that it should be absorbed, for had it continued applicable to the expenses of pauperism alone, it would most surely have relaxed the management; but, then, it was of equal importance that it should be absorbed in a way that would gratify and interest my parochial administrators, who, one and all of them, had the good of the parish at heart. And therefore I have applied it to the endowment of parish schools. And so it should be suffered to all who are in any way embarrassed with their surplusses, those most decisive trophies to the efficiency of the parochial system in Glasgow. The poorer parishes, after having obtained a good initial arrangement, might, with all safety, be left to themselves. And the richer, after having provided a good apparatus of parochial schooling for their own population, should be permitted, through the

medium of their collections, to extend the same benefit to other parishes, or even to the suburb wastes by which our city is surrounded.*

The proposition that our surplus should go to the Town Hospital, for the relief of the general expenditure of the city, is altogether monstrous. When one reflects, indeed, that all the collections of the city churches taken together amount to about £2,000 in the year, and that the annual assessment has been known to exceed £13,000, this whole attempt upon the sessional surplusses is something very like straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel. But never was there so thorough an exemplification of the cross-purpose—never were human understandings so totally at antipodes with each other, as when it was proposed

* For the purpose of giving complete legal security to the parochial system in Glasgow, the following are the heads of the bill that should be attempted in Parliament.

First, when the Kirk-Session of any parish, by a certain specified majority, which ought to be a large one, undertakes to provide for all their existing sessional poor, and to meet all their own new cases of pauperism, without having recourse on the fund by assessment, they should be left to the uncontrolled disposal of their own collections.

Secondly, when a Kirk-Session, the expense of whose present sessional poor overpasses their present collection, undertakes, on being relieved of the excess, to provide for the same objects in the same way, they, in like manner, should be left to the uncontrolled disposal of their own collections.

Thirdly, the general law of residence in Scotland should be made applicable for the mutual protection of the parishes within the Royalty, from each other's poor.

And, lastly, for the encouragement of the poorer parishes, those whose expense to the fund by assessment, for the seven years previous to their adoption of the provisions of the act, has exceeded their contribution by the levy to this fund, during the same period, shall be wholly exonerated from the assessment, so soon as either their Hospital paupers have all died away, or they have otherwise relieved that institution of all further charge on account of them.

to lead the camel forth, that it may feed and fatten on the healthful sproutings of that system which was especially set up with the design to starve it at length into utter extermination. Had this idea been entertained by more than a very few of our influential men, I should have been filled with despair; but I confidently leave the whole question in the hands of those from whom I have ever experienced the most friendly countenance and support—and I cannot doubt that, with the Magistrates and Town Council of Glasgow, the experiment is safe.

There is just one delusion more which might bewilder the views of the public on this question; and I speak the more earnestly upon it, that I have witnessed the mischievous influence of it in many parts of England. It is possible, at any time, to put forth an arm of vigour, and to make very great retrenchments on the existing pauperism, and without changing at all the old system, to administer it so strictly for a season as to reduce very much the expenditure—and then appeal to this reduction as an argument that the system is in itself a very good one, and that no other reformation is called for than merely on the administration of it. But this impulse will not continue—and the pauperism will soon make head again—and whenever there is the unlimited command over a fund for its expense, it will be found most surely, in the long-run, to contain within itself the seeds and principles of its own most mischievous acceleration. It is not so with the modest and gratuitous economy of a Scottish parish, because there the administrators are at

all times necessarily strict, and the popular habit is that of a quiescence corresponding therewith. How soon the people even of a city parish may be conducted to this habit back again—and how soon, in consequence, a Kirk-Session may be relieved from all that pressure of application which is inseparable from compulsory pauperism, has, I trust, been made most abundantly manifest by the truly important testimonies which I have received from the deacons of St John's.

I conclude with one word to the clergymen of the city. There is nought more fitted to deter imitation than the idea of a complex and unmanageable machinery; and I accordingly believe, that one of the elements which enters into the disinclination of my colleagues for the parochial system is, the idea that an order of deacons is indispensable. Now, however valuable the services of my deacons may have been, and however much I desire the continuance of these services, yet it were against experimental truth to affirm, that by elders alone the retracing process could not be accomplished. The Outer Kirk parish had a far more unfavourable commencement than we had, and yet their Kirk-Session has succeeded hitherto without deacons. And so might any other Kirk-Session in the city, on the condition, however, of their being heartily resolved upon the enterprise, and nearly unanimous in its favour. A very few dissentients could easily blast the undertaking—could overrun, if they chose, their districts with pauperism—could, with so powerful an auxiliary on their side as the natural sloth and appetency of man,

bring on such a host of applications to the parochial board, as might alarm all the members of it into a sense of their utter insufficiency to meet them; and then appeal to the premature failure, as an evidence against the new system, which they detest, and for the old, of which they are the devoted worshippers.* I shall therefore be sorry if the matter be pushed and precipitated beyond the real progress of conviction; and however slow that progress was, I would much rather see it patiently waited for than prematurely outrun.

Before I have done, I shall again offer it as my decisive testimony, in behalf of this parochial system, that it is not only one of great efficacy, but of great comfort; and that within the parish of St John's, much peace, as well as much prosperity has attended the operation of it. I shall ever think with gratitude and good will of the acceptance which it had among the families; and, indeed, of all the unmerited cordiality that I have gotten from their hands. The only drawback from that full enjoyment which I else might have had in it, is the perpetual controversy that was ever and anon springing up in some new quarter, so as to surround the enterprise with a menace and a hostility from without, that was at least very disquieting. The parochial system secured for me a homewalk that was altogether delightful; but it would have required the combative temper of an Ishmaelite, to have had any comfort in the foreign warfare that had to be waged for the defence of it. Yet this

* This result has actually taken place in several instances, and operated most injuriously to the discredit of our system.

warfare, I fondly hope, is temporary; confident as I am, that in proportion as the parochial system is more tried and more understood, there will come to be a more friendly coalescence in its favour, on the part of all the public men of Glasgow. There is much of a common feeling, and common principle that ought to harmonise us—many reconciling principles, on which I despair not, at length, of a full reciprocity of sentiment. I fully share with them in their antipathy to all wanton and senseless innovation. I share with them in their reverence for antiquity; and our only difference is, that while some plead for the way and custom of their fathers, I should like to fetch my authority from a remoter age, and quote the still deeper and more revered antiquity of our grandfathers. It is not any new system which I advocate, but the system of the founders of the Scottish Kirk, as it still subsists throughout the vast majority of our land, and as it stood unviolated for more than a century, over nearly the whole extent of it, till marred by the contagion of England.

APPENDIX, No. III.

EVIDENCE BEFORE THE COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON THE SUBJECT OF A POOR LAW FOR IRELAND.

1. HAVE you had occasion to turn your attention to the state of the poor in the different parts of the empire?—More particularly in Scotland; and I have paid some attention to the state of pauperism in England.

2. Was the attention you have paid to the state of pauperism in England grounded upon any personal observations and visits to this country?—Yes; it was grounded upon personal observation.

3. Has that attention been pursued by you with reference to the state of the poor in Scotland for many years?—From the time of my entering into the ministry of the Church of Scotland.

4. There has been a reprint of a memorandum made by the late Mr Horner and Sir Henry Moncrieff on the subject of the Scotch Poor Laws; have you read that memorandum?—I have.

5. Do you consider that that requires any material alterations or additions to give to this Committee an adequate representation of what the law of Scotland, on the subject of the poor, is at the present moment?—I am not aware of any alteration being required; I would add, that in the reign of William and Mary there were no less than two acts passed, and four proclamations issued on the subject of the Scottish poor laws, all evincing the utmost earnestness, on the part of the Legislature, to establish a compulsory provision in Scotland, which, however, seem to have been quite inoperative. The proclamation of the 3rd of March, 1698, complains of the inefficacy of all former acts and proclamations; orders correction-houses to be built, one in each of the larger towns for the benefit of the surrounding district, that should, under a penalty of 500 marks for each quarter's delay, after a specified

time, provide work for the unemployed; the sheriffs were further required to see this executed, under a penalty of 500 marks, in the first instance, and then £500 for each week of their delay; the magistrates were ordered to support the poor till those correction-houses should be provided; and the kirk-sessions were empowered to see to the execution of the acts.

6. Referring to the acts which were anterior to the proclamation of William, does it appear to you that the object of the Legislature seems to have been rather the punishment of vagrancy than providing relief?—I think that anterior to the year 1579, the statutes may be considered as so many rigorous enactments for the punishment and the repression of vagrancy.

7. The Scotch act of 1579 appearing to be founded upon the English statute of the 15th of Elizabeth, with an omission of the clause which directs the procuring of work for the able-bodied vagrants, is there any historical explanation of that material variation?—I am not aware of any precise historical information upon the subject. I think that the proclamation of 1698 throws some light upon the question, particularly as followed up by an act of the same year posterior to that proclamation. Notwithstanding the very severe penalties wherewith it was attempted to enforce the erection of work-houses, the matter does not appear to have been proceeded in; and the act of 1698, c. 21, complains of the inefficacy of all former acts and proclamations, and re-ordains the building of correction-houses in the burghs, but that they should be built "between such days and in such order as the Privy Council shall think fit, and *as the said burghs are able to bear the same*, notwithstanding the days named in the said acts and proclamations." The inability of the burghs then must have been one cause of their non-erection. But beside this, from Scotland being so much behind England in respect of its economical condition, I should imagine that neither the agriculture nor the manufactures of the country supplied the same number of resources for work as in England. It is further obvious that there was a want of machinery for executing these acts.

8. Then it would appear that those proclamations for the erection of work-houses, had they been carried into effect, would, together with the statute of 1579, have completed the two objects, the repression of vagrancy, and the affording relief?—I am not sure that in effect they would have completed those objects, but that they should do so was evidently the intention of the Legislature.

9. Are there any other means of accounting for the non-execution of those statutes and proclamations for the erection of work-houses?—I am not aware of any other.

10. Are the Scotch laws with respect to the relief of the poor found in practice to create a right in the poor to demand relief?—I conceive that a sound interpreter of law would educe as valid a right to relief from the statute book of Scotland as from that of England. In this respect there is a great similitude between them, and the chief difference seems to lie in the habit and practice of the two countries.

11. Does it appear that the relief of the able-bodied poor is practically contemplated or enforced under the law of Scotland, if such able-bodied poor are out of employment?—There was a material decision upon this question so recent as the year 1806: two persons having objected to an assessment imposed by the unanimous determination of the heritors and kirk-session, for the relief of a number of able-bodied labourers, who in ordinary times supported themselves, but had been reduced to want by the failure of two successive crops; the court sustained the assessment.

12. The law of Scotland, as explained in the memorandum which has been adverted to, and in the answer you have given, having appeared to recognize the principle of assessment, can you inform the Committee when that principle of assessment was first introduced into practice?—It is certain that it was acted upon in very few parishes indeed prior to 1740. The Appendix to the Third Report of a Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Poor Laws in 1818, contains so many numerical abstracts, which were found to be very erroneous. The errors, however, were rectified next

year by a Committee of the General Assembly, who framed new abstracts, and subjoined them to a supplementary Report. These latter abstracts I have found to be quite accurate, as far as I have compared them with the original communications of the Scottish clergy, but unfortunately they do not furnish the dates of the introduction of assessment into our Scottish parishes. The first abstracts do present us with some information upon this subject, and in as far as they can be relied upon, there were about eight parishes under assessment in the year 1740.

13. In the Third Report it is stated, that in 700 reported cases there appear only three instances of assessment prior to 1700; that from 1700 to 1800 there were ninety-three cases of assessment, and from 1800 to 1817 there were forty-nine new cases of assessment. Now, though that may not be precisely accurate, do you consider that it affords sufficient approximation to the truth, to give an index to the origin and progress of assessment in Scotland?—I feel myself authorized to say, that there were very few parishes indeed that had adopted the method of assessment prior to 1740.

14. To what cause do you attribute the non-application of the principle of assessment prior to that year?—There is an act which permits the alternative of begging under certain regulations, and the preference of all parties for this seems to have made the progress of assessment among the Scottish parishes a very slow one.

15. Were there any circumstances in the internal state of Scotland, and in the state of society, which, in your opinion, impeded the introduction or the progress of assessment at that time?—It appears to me that the progress of assessments, instead of being impeded, was superseded or anticipated by the progress of education and good habits amongst the people.

16. In what condition does Scotland appear to have been about the beginning of the last century, and the close of the century preceding, prior to the introduction of the principle of assessment?—In the middle of the 16th century there was a very efficient system of Christian instruction in the parishes of Scotland, and it

is understood that the country at that time was in a very healthful moral condition; immediately after the Restoration the act for the establishment of parochial schools was repealed, and there was an attempt to enforce episcopacy upon the Scottish population, which gave rise to what may be termed religious wars, that lasted for nearly thirty years; from the disorder and turbulence of that period, along with the suspension of parochial education, the population seems to have deteriorated very rapidly. There is a most frightful picture given of the state of Scotland in 1698, by Fletcher of Saltoun, as appears from the following extract:—

"There are at this day in Scotland (besides a great number of families very meanly provided for by the church boxes, with others who, with living upon bad food, fall into various diseases) 200,000 people begging from door to door. These are not only no ways advantageous, but a very grievous burden to so poor a country; and though the number of them be perhaps double to what it was formerly, by reason of the present great distress, yet in all times there have been about 100,000 of these vagabonds, who have lived without any regard or submission either to the laws of the land, or even of those of God and nature; fathers incestuously accompanying their own daughters, the son with the mother, and the brother with the sister. No magistrate could ever discover or be informed which way any of these wretches died, or that ever they were baptized. Many murders have been discovered among them; and they are not only a most unspeakable oppression to poor tenants, (who, if they give not bread or some sort of provision to perhaps forty such villains in one day, are sure to be insulted by them,) but they rob many poor people who live in houses distant from any neighbourhood. In years of plenty many thousands of them meet together in the mountains, where they feast and riot for many days; and at country weddings, markets, burials, and other the like public occasions, they are to be seen, both men and women, perpetually drunk, cursing, blaspheming, and fighting together."

17. Does it appear, from historical records, that that

state of things continued long after the date of the work of Fletcher of Saltoun?—It appears, from very distinct historical documents, that that state of things subsided almost *per saltum*, very suddenly indeed, when the population had leave to repose from the religious persecutions, and the parochial system of education was again general. They were besides plied from Sabbath to Sabbath by an efficient and acceptable clergy, in consequence of which, the transformation appears to have been quite marvellous. The extract I have now read, refers to the year 1698. The extract I am about to read, refers to a period of time only nineteen years distant, 1717. It is taken from Defoe, the author of Robinson Crusoe. "The people," says he, "are restrained in the ordinary practice of common immoralities, such as swearing, drunkenness, slander, fornication, and the like. As to theft, murder, and other capital crimes, they come under the cognizance of the civil magistrate as in other countries; but in those things which the church has power to punish, the people being constantly and impartially prosecuted, they are thereby the more restrained, kept sober, and under government, and you may pass through twenty towns in Scotland without seeing any broil, or hearing one oath sworn in the streets; whereas, if a blind man was to come from there into England, he shall know the first town he sets his foot in within the English border, by hearing the name of God blasphemed and profanely used, even by the very little children on the street."

18. Are there any other documents to which the Committee can refer, save the Third Report, to show in how many parishes the principle of assessment had been applied at the time that Defoe explained the improved state of society?—I am not aware of any other documents, but I am thoroughly convinced it was not introduced at that time into half-a-dozen parishes.

19. Is the date of the first application of the principle of assessment known?—I do not think it is.

20. In what particular part of Scotland was the principle of assessment first applied?—Those parts which were contiguous to England; and when it did pro-

ceed northwards, it began generally with the large towns.

21. Can you state the entire number of parishes of Scotland at the present moment, and in what number the principle of assessment is applied?—By the Appendix that is subjoined to the Third Report, the number of parishes where assessments are now introduced is 152. The total number of parishes in Scotland is between 900 and 1,000.

22. What is the geographical limit, if there be any, within which the principle of assessment is applied at the present moment?—I can scarcely state a geographical limit; it is nearly universal in Berwick and Roxburghshire, which are border counties; I think it is very prevalent in Selkirkshire, and perhaps not so prevalent in Peeblesshire; then there are isolated parishes further north where the system has been introduced.

23. Are there many parishes north of the Frith of Forth where the principle of assessment has been introduced?—I think I can safely say that there are not twenty to the north of the Forth and Clyde.

24. Do you consider the system of assessment in Scotland to be on the increase or otherwise?—It is making progress both in the number of parishes and in the amount of the assessment.

25. To what causes do you attribute the advance of the principle of assessment; is it not the natural inference that the principle has been found a beneficial one? —In the first place, I think it a very natural imagination, that should there be a vacancy or a deficit in respect of means, the patent way of supplying that vacancy is just to pour relief into it, and it is very natural to proceed upon that imagination when urged by a sense of short coming in the supplies which are provided in a voluntary way; it is a very natural and frequent, though I think mistaken imagination, that an assessment will make good the deficiency. It is not from the impulse, however, which led to the assessment, that I would draw instruction upon this subject, but from the experience which ascertains the result of it. And here I would state another cause which, in many cases, has been the moving force

that led to the introduction of assessments; there are many non-resident heritors in our parishes, and from a desire that the burthen should be equalized between the resident and non-resident, the principle of assessment has been introduced, very much afterwards to the regret and repentance of all, when they have found that it would have been far easier to bear the whole burthen of a gratuitous economy than the share only which fell to them of a compulsory system.

26. It is stated in the Report of the General Assembly, in 1817, that in a great proportion of the country parishes in which legal assessments have been introduced, they have been afterwards abandoned, either because it has been found by experience that whatever addition the ordinary funds required might be obtained at much less expense by means of voluntary contribution, where any urgent pressure on the poor should render it necessary, or because the regular assessment in those parishes has been very generally observed to produce an influx of paupers from other parishes, who, in three years, can acquire a legal settlement, if during that time they have supported themselves by their own industry, aggravating in this way the parochial burdens beyond all reasonable proportion; do you concur in those observations, first, with respect to the fact that the assessment principle has been abandoned in some parishes after it is introduced, and next, as to the causes there assigned for the alteration of the practice? —I think that the causes are quite adequate to justify the abandonment of the method of assessment; but I do not think that in point of fact, they have led to that result in more than a few instances; so that the assessment, upon the whole, is making progress in Scotland.

27. Will you describe the mode of proceeding on the subject of the poor in an unassessed parish in Scotland? —The chief fund for the relief of the poor is derived from voluntary collections at the church door; and, in some instances, the collection is made more effective by its being received within doors, the elders carrying about what they call a ladle, and making pointed and personal application with it to each individual before

the dismissal of the congregation. That method obtains, however, in comparatively a small number of Scotch parishes; the collection being generally held at the church door, where the people give their offerings into a plate as they pass. The produce of the collection is the chief fund out of which the poor are relieved in the unassessed parishes; there are occasionally other funds, however, as interest from small sums of money left to the kirk-sessions. In regard to administration, the heritors or landed proprietors have a right, along with the minister and elders, to the conjunct management of one-half of the collection, though, in point of fact, they seldom avail themselves of it. Practically, there are few instances of a conjunct administration, excepting where the parishes are assessed; so that in the great majority of these parishes, the administration may be said to lie solely with the minister and elders.

28. Is the administration under any settled principle, limiting the objects upon which it can be expended, or is it at the discretion of the parties administering?—Almost entirely at the discretion of the minister and kirk-session.

29. In the assessed parishes, what is the mode of procedure with respect to the relief of the poor?—After the method of assessment was introduced, the collections fell off very rapidly, and the heritors have stated meetings along with the kirk-session, so that the fund may be said to be under the conjunct administration of the heritors and the kirk-session.

30. When there is an assessment, is the administration of that assessment carried on upon the admission of a principle of right on the part of the poor to demand the relief, or is the expenditure discretionary on the part of the heritors and kirk-session?—There is a rapid growth on the part of the population of the feeling that they have a right to relief; and in regard to the discretionary administration by the kirk-session and heritors, this was very much restrained by a practice that obtained till recently, of appealing from their decision to the sheriff of the county, or to a neighbouring jus-

tice. However, by a recent decision, it has been found that an appeal is not competent save to the Court of Session, and this may be said practically to have rendered the parochial courts of administration ultimate, the method of prosecuting the appeal being now so very operose and expensive that it is seldom resorted to.

31. Then has the result of this principle of law that you have described, by throwing great difficulties in the way of appeal, been to render the disposal of those funds by the heritors and kirk-session subject to their discretion only?—I believe that this decision may have retarded in some degree the progress of the expenditure; but there is one peculiarity in our Scottish parishes which some have thought counterbalances any benefit that may arise from the difficulty of appeal. The kirk-session have a right, along with the heritors, to raise money for the relief of the poor, though the burden of the assessment falls wholly upon the land. I cannot say how far this may operate insensibly in accelerating the progress of assessments.

32. Is not the rate apportioned between the tenants and the heritors?—It is apportioned between the tenant and the heritors, but the tenant has no voice in it. The sum to be raised is determined by the heritors and the kirk-session, which last are not payers.

33. Therefore you do not think that the check of individual interest acts as strongly as might be in the reduction of those assessments?—It is certainly very much in the power of the minister and the kirk-session to speed the progress of assessments, not certainly from any indifference on their part to the interest of the heritors, but from the feeling of its being conducive to the good of the population.

34. Have you had any means of comparing the difference of expense under the assessed and the unassessed system in Scotland?—When I received my summons to attend this Committee, I was very anxious to look into the original communications from the Scottish clergy, which form the basis of those numerical abstracts that are appended to the Supplementary Report which has been already referred to. I have thus been

able to collect a few instances, taken at random, and which I think will make that matter clear. I have noted a few parishes from the Synod of Merse and Teviotdale, where there is an assessment, and compared them with parishes of about an equal population in the Synod of Argyle, which is not assessed. In Dunse the population is 3,082, the fund for the poor L.615 13s. 6d.; in Kilmichael and Glassary the population is 3,400 unassessed, fund L.30 0s. 6d., less by a twentieth part than the former, although with a larger population; Eccles, population 1,820, fund L.327; South Knapdale in Argyleshire, population 1,720, fund L.33; Coldstream, population 2,384, fund L.615; North Knapdale, 2,184, fund L.15 10s.; Coldingham, population 2,424, fund L.316 2s. 9d.; Inverary, population 2,061, fund L.124; Jedburgh, population 4,454, fund L.631 17s. 4d.; Kilninian, population 4,064, fund L.20; Hawick, 3,688, fund L.899 14s.; Lismore and Appin, population 3,407, fund, L.34; Wilton, population 1,500, fund L.309 17s. 11d.; Kilmartin, population 1,453, fund L.15; Kelso, 4,408, fund L.899 5s.; Rothsay, 4,970, fund L.171 3s. 7½d.; Morebattle, population 983, fund L.306; Kilninver, 983, fund L.22. These statements are given from the Appendix of the Supplementary Report.

35. Are there any circumstances connected with the different state of the population, in the districts you have contrasted, which could account for the smallness of relief given in the one case, and the amount of the rate in the other; is the one an agricultural district and the other a manufacturing one, or are there any other contrarieties which would account for the great disproportion?—There is no other circumstance I can assign than the mere existence in the one set of parishes, and non-existence in the other, of a compulsory provision. The counties where the method of assessment is most general are among the most agricultural in Scotland; on the other hand Campbelton is the most populous in Argyleshire, its population being 7,807, and the fund only L.141 10s.; the employment of many of the people, too, is fishing, which is very precarious. I will conclude this list of instances by mentioning another

parish in Argyleshire, Kilchoman, where the population is 3,131, fund L.10.

36. Have you had any means of comparing the actual condition of the poor in those separate classes of parishes, or any of them, so as to enable you to state to the Committee in which of the two descriptions of parishes there is the greatest industry and wealth, and in which the physical and moral condition of the poor is the better?—I can say little on this subject from my own personal observation; I have a very vague recollection of Roxburghshire, where I was assistant for some months to a minister, about twenty-nine years ago; my impression certainly is, that in the unassessed county of Fife, where I was afterwards a clergyman for twelve years, the standard of enjoyment is fully as high as in Roxburghshire, and the relative affections seem to be in much more powerful exercise in the unassessed than in the assessed parishes, as also the kindness of neighbours to each other, and the spontaneous generosity of the rich to the poor: there is a great deal of relief going on in the unassessed parishes, perhaps as much in point of *materiel* as in the assessed, though not so much needed, from the unbroken habits of economy and industry among the people; the *morale* which accompanies the voluntary mode of relief tends to sweeten and cement the parochial society in the unassessed parishes. On the subject of the relative condition and character of the two sets of parishes, I shall, with the permission of the Committee, give a few extracts taken from the original communications of the Scottish clergy, upon which the Third Report of the Select Committee of 1818, and also the Supplementary Report of the General Assembly, are founded. The first are a few instances from the county of Sutherland. In Wick the population is 5,080; the fund L.48 6s. The minister says, "There is no one of any description in this parish, or indeed in this county, supported wholly from the public fund; a little help is all that is given; for the rest, they must depend upon their own industry, the kindness of relations, or the liberality of the generous: entire support is unknown." In Criech

the population is 1,969; the fund, L.10 19s. "None supported wholly from the poor fund; the pittance they receive from the fund would not support them one month in the year; but they are supported by their friends and neighbours. In admitting a pauper on the poor roll, his moral character is minutely examined and considered in bestowing charity." In Tongue the population is 1,493; the fund, L.12 12s. "None are wholly supported from the poor's fund in this parish, owing to the extreme smallness of our fund; on the poor's roll the number at present is forty, to whom are given from 3s. to 5s. or 6s. from the poor's fund in a year, according to the urgency of their claims, and chiefly to buy shoes, or assist to buy them; the great majority of the above do a little for their own maintenance, but are principally supported by the kindness of their relations, and the bounty of charitable neighbours often sent to their relief." In Kilarnan the population is 1,390; the fund L.46 10s. "None on the poor's roll of my parish are supported wholly from the poor's fund, but live partly by their own industry, and when unable to work, are aided by their friends. There is one blind person in this parish; there are four persons deaf and dumb: the above objects are aided a little by the kirk-session, but supported chiefly by their own relatives." In Kirkmichael Risolis the population is 1,168; the fund L.18 14s. "At his settlement, the incumbent found ninety-five names on the poor's roll; on making strict inquiry into their circumstances, in the course of two or three years, he found that most of them were not real objects of charity, but were put on the list by the influence of one or other of the twelve elders: to get free of this, he got an act of the kirk-session, ordaining that none should receive of the poor's fund but such as would sign an obligation to leave their all, after paying the expense of their last illness and interment, to the poor, unless they had parents or children, sisters or mothers, or such other relations or connexions as had been kind and munificent to them in their distress; by this act the number was reduced from ninety-five to thirty-six; there is one young man

who has been confined to bed for several years by a universal palsy, supported by his parents and relations, excepting from 18s. to 25s. given annually by the congregation." In Avoch, the population is 1,560, and the fund L.25 10s. 6d. "There are two persons blind, three deaf and dumb; the above objects are aided partly by the kirk-session, but supported chiefly by their own relatives." In Nigg the population is 1,349; the fund L.16. "The highest rate of relief granted is too small for the support of any individual; private charity commonly makes up the deficiency." In Fearn the population is 1,508, and the fund L.19 7s. 5d. "They receive from 3s. to 7s. annually; the rate of allowance in Highland parishes is very frequently as small." In Kincardine the population is 1,666; the fund is L.9 10s. "Character is always considered, and the amount of his allowance fixed in proportion; and this is seriously impressed on the mind of a bad man." In Tarbat the population is 1,379; fund L.33 13s. 6d. "Ten of this number cannot earn anything, but are assisted by their children and friends." In Urray, the population is 2,649; the fund L.16 8s. "Five blind, three deaf and dumb, supported, partly, from the session fund, chiefly by relations and a benevolent public." Kilmoreck, the population 2,528; the fund L.12 12s. "There are on the poor's roll of this parish, that can earn nothing for their maintenance, eight men and six women, and these are maintained by their charitable neighbours and the poor's fund; the highest sum given is 10s. a-year." In Alness the population is 1,038; the fund L.29 8s. "The people are uniformly sober and careful, and accumulate what they can lay by for future necessities." Dingwall, the population 1,500; the fund L.902 17s. 6d. "There is no pauper on the roll who is entirely supported by the session; they either do a little for their own subsistence, or are in a great measure supported by individual charity." I think these instances form a very fair representation of the general state of unassessed parishes.

37. Have you made any extracts of a similar character with respect to the state of the poor in the assessed

parishes?—I am sorry that it did not occur to me to do so; but I will make such extracts and submit them to the Committee.

38. Can you inform the Committee, more particularly with respect to the existence and continuance of the private charity in the relief of distress, how that private charity exists in the assessed parishes, as compared with the unassessed parishes?—My opportunities of observation have been very much confined to the unassessed parishes, with the exception of Glasgow, where I would not ascribe the whole difference to the assessment, on the one hand, and the want of assessment on the other; for irrespective of this there is a difference between a town and a country population.

39. Are there not some parishes in which there are very considerable voluntary contributions, and in which there is a subsidiary fund in aid of the church-door collection, without reference to assessment?—I am aware of the existence of such a fund in several parishes.

40. Could you state what the state of the poor is in parishes of that description, more particularly with respect to the feelings of private charity, and the discharge of the obligations of benevolence one towards another?—I am not able to furnish the Committee with any statement upon that subject.

41. In the assessed parishes generally, has the disposition been to extend the amount of assessment?—I think very much so; at the same time it is but fair to state that there are some remarkable instances of moderate expenditure, even in assessed parishes; and if the Committee will allow me, I can give a few instances. In Longformacus the population is 444, the fund L.40 3s. 7½d.; Eyermouth, the population 962, the fund L.71 19s. 11½d.; Edwin, the population 1,360, the fund L.132 11s. 9d.; Selkirk, the population 2,466, the fund L.231; Melrose, the population 3,132, the fund L.270; Nenthorn, the population 398, the fund L.24 5s. 4d.; in Legerwood, population 560, fund L.43 3s. 9d.; Stair, 1,454, fund L.99 4s.; Martin, 614, fund L.42 15s. 10d.; Abbey St. Bathans, 154, fund L.5 15s.; Cranshaws,

186, fund L.10 18s. 5¾d.; Preston and Buncle, 766, fund L.40 18s. 11½d.

42. Can you inform the Committee what have been the causes which in those parishes have led to the moderation of the assessment and prevented the increase of such assessment?—They are quite intermingled with and contiguous to other parishes where the amount of the assessment is out of all proportion greater than theirs. Perhaps it may proceed from a later introduction of the assessment, though a more strenuous management could produce the whole difference. These instances, however, comprehend so very small a fraction of the parishes, that if due to superior management, we are entitled to infer it is such a management as in the average will not be realized, whereas in the unassessed parishes, where we have an equally moderate expenditure, we need no strenuousness of management. It appears to me that the assessment has operated as an artificial stimulant, and given a movement to the people in one direction, and that the strenuous management operates as a counteractive, which when strenuous enough, brings the people to a right medium state, as if by a compensation of errors. The ground upon which I prefer the system in unassessed to that in assessed parishes, is, that freed from both these errors, we remain in the same moderate state without the putting forth of any skill or any strenuousness whatever on the part of the administrative body. Granting that there is no natural necessity for a compulsory provision to the poor, the anomaly of a moderate expenditure in some assessed parishes might be easily accounted for. The want of this necessity will generally be discoverable by strict investigation, so that even after a compulsory fund is established, by means of a very vigilant guardianship and scrutiny, the great majority of applications might be warded off, or a great number of the already admitted paupers may have their allowances either reduced or withdrawn. I do not wonder that when a strenuous administration is set up in any parish, we should hear of such marvellous abridgments as have been effected on the expenditure; but I do regret, when I hear these

instances appealed to as examples of the innocence of the system. Such instances among the assessed parishes of Scotland, do not amount to one-tenth of the whole. They form too but an inconsiderable fraction among the parishes of England, proving that under the *average* management of parishes, or such management as is generally and ordinarily to be had, the system contains in it the mischievous principle of its own acceleration. It is not to be denied, that if we set up an unnatural stimulant on the one hand, and give a movement thereby in one direction, we may do much to neutralize the impulse by a counteractive of unnatural strength and violence in the other direction. But I should prefer a natural state of things, where the impulse had not been given, and so the counteraction has not been called for.

43. It is stated, in the Third Report of the General Assembly, that in almost all the country parishes which have come under their notice, where a regular assessment has been established, the wants of the poor and the extent of the assessments have gradually and progressively increased from their commencement; speaking generally, would your experience and the facts that have come within your observation confirm that remark? —Completely so. There has been a good deal of literary controversy on the subject of the poor laws in Scotland, and great use has been made of the errors in the abstract subjoined to the Third Report, 1818, by those who contend for the principle of a compulsory provision, as if those errors completely disproved the principle and general spirit of that Report of your Select Committee. But, in point of fact, the principles and conclusions of that Report are equally well borne out by the Supplementary Report of the General Assembly, where the numerical abstracts are quite correct and have never been excepted against.

44. Have you the means of comparing the industry and wealth of the people in an unassessed with an assessed parish?—I cannot speak from actual observation, because I do not think it quite fair to compare Glasgow, where I have had a great deal of experience, with

those country parishes where I have also had much experience.

45. You officiated as minister in a country parish in the county of Fife?—I did; I was twelve years a minister of Kilmany in that county.

46. What was the state of the fund for the relief of the poor in your parish in Fife?—Our annual expenditure, speaking of the average of those twelve years, was about £24, and the population 787. I might also mention, that I have a recollection of about £12 being given for some years to one remarkable case of distress, so that we had only for some time £12 a-year for the expenses of the general pauperism of that parish.

47. Was there any effort made at any time during your ministry in that parish to introduce the principle of assessment?—Not the least; the heritors sometimes offered me a supplemental voluntary sum, but I always disliked it; I said that the effect of this, if known to the parish, would be to excite a great deal more expectation than it could gratify, and I found the parish kept in a more wholesome state by the rich giving what they gave privately, and without coming ostensibly through the known and public organization of the kirk-session, so that I always discountenanced the tendency on the part of the heritors, who were abundantly liberal, to augment our regular session fund by any extraordinary contributions.

48. The funds for the relief of the poor in that parish were then provided exclusively by the kirk-session?—They were; we had a small capital of about £200 which afforded us so much interest; then we had our collection. A considerable part of the fund is expended upon small ecclesiastical matters, such as the payment of the session clerk, and the synod and presbytery clerks.

49. Were those charged upon the small annual fund?—They were.

50. Did the population of that parish augment during the time of your ministry?—It did not; it was pretty stationary during the time of my ministry, but it rather declined before that; the practice of throwing the country into large farms had obtained previous to

my entering upon the ministry of that parish. The parish was almost exclusively agricultural, consisting of husbandmen and the servants of husbandmen, with a few country artificers, and some weavers.

51. Was the condition of the poor progressive or retrograding during those twelve years?—I was sensible of no great difference in that respect; the people, generally speaking, were in decent comfort; but I beg it to be understood, that I do not ascribe this to any positive virtue in our public charity. I think the excellence of our system, when compared with that of England, is altogether of a negative kind. Our parochial charity, from the extreme moderation of its allowances, does not seduce our people from a due dependance on themselves, or to a neglect of their relative obligations. It is not the relief then administered by our kirk-sessions which keeps them comfortable. This is mainly owing to the operation of those principles which nature hath instituted for the prevention and alleviation of poverty. I might here mention, that I had occasion to publish my Kilmany expenditure about fifteen or sixteen years ago, when Mr Rose honoured me with a letter of inquiry, and begged to know by what excellent management it was that I contrived to keep all the poor comfortable on so trifling a sum. I wrote back to him that I really was not conscious of putting forth any skill or any strenuousness in the matter, and that the excellence of our system did not consist in the excellent management, but wholly in the manageable nature of the subject, which was a population whose habits and whose expectations were accommodated to a state of things where a compulsory provision was altogether unknown.

52. Then you attribute the state of this parish rather to your laying aside all interference, than to any positive and affirmative acts?—Decidedly so. I look upon a compulsory provision to be that which acts as a disturbing force upon certain principles and feelings, which, if left to their own undisturbed exercise, would do more for the prevention and alleviation of poverty, than can be done by any legal or artificial system whatever.

53. During those twelve years, were there any pecu-

liar visitations of distress or sickness, or any commercial vicissitudes, which affected the population of this parish?—There was one instance of low wages, and I remember the heritors then came forth with an offer which I gave way to for once, of about £50, which was distributed over and above the sessional income. I had a feeling that it really was not necessary; I did not think the parish by any means required it; that is to say, I would much rather have preferred that they would, without the excitement of any great expectation in the parish, have distributed the sum of £50 in a private and unseen way.

54. Then do you consider that the ill effect produced by any system of assessment, or even by any extent of increased charity, is to be measured rather by the expectation excited on the part of the parishioners, than by the actual amount of money given?—By the expectation, decidedly; and I think it is one evil of public charity, that the poor, who are not very accurate arithmeticians, are apt to overrate the power of a public charity, so that the real relaxation of their habits not being proportional to the amount given, but being proportional to the amount expected, leaves them in greater misery than if no such public charity were instituted. I would state, as a kind of characteristic specimen of our Scottish peasantry, that I have at times offered a poor person five shillings as from the session, and that it has been firmly yet gratefully refused; they said they were very much obliged to me, but they had not just come to that yet, and that they could make a fend; by which they meant they could make a shift. The feeling of reluctance to public charity is very strong, and forms one of our greatest moral defences against the extension of pauperism in Scotland. I may mention that there is not a more familiar spectacle in our cottages, than the grandfather harboured for life by his own married children, and remaining with them for years, the honoured inmate of the family. In fact, I have no recollection of a single instance, and I am sure it would have been branded as the most monstrous and most unnatural of all things, of the desertion of relatives by relatives.

55. During your experience in that parish, had you the means of knowing whether there was a good deal of private charity, independently of the mere charity and performance of duty by kindred, which relieved distress where such distress existed?—Generally speaking, the people, save in a few instances, were in a remarkably good economical condition, arising, in the first place, from their own industry and economy, in the second place, from the affection of relatives, which went very far to supersede any ulterior resource; but in the third place, there was never wanting to the full amount of the existing necessity a third resource, in the mutual kindness of neighbours; insomuch, that I hold the fourth and last resource, or the kindness of rich to poor, to be least important of them all. It should be recollected in estimating the product of the kindness which obtains between neighbours, that they make up by the number of their contributions for the smallness of each individual offering. Still there were occasional calls upon the rich; and on the whole, I found that on the strength of these four principles, matters went on quite rightly and prosperously in the parish.

56. Were there in the parish any persons blind or lame, or insane, and by reason of that misfortune incapable of contributing to their own support?—I have a recollection of one insane person, who perhaps for a year, or a year and a-half, was placed in the Dundee Asylum.

57. What provision were the poor of the parish enabled to apply to in cases of sickness, for relief, for medicine or advice?—There was no regular institution for the supply of medicines; there is an infirmary in the immediate neighbourhood, and an asylum for lunatics.

58. Was there any deficiency felt in that parish, in cases of sickness, in the want of medical aid or medicine?—I am not sensible of there having been any deficiency at all.

59. How did the poor, if they required any medical assistance, obtain it?—They find, in the first place, a

ready and great resource in the aid of their neighbours and friends; then the country surgeons are, in general, very moderate in their charges upon the poor. There is a strong habit of mutual kindness in cases of sickness, perhaps too much so; for, on these occasions, they are apt to overcharge each other with attentions.

60. Was there any increase of population in the parish while you were there?—I think while I was there it was almost stationary.

61. Do you know any thing of it since?—Very generally. I do pay the parish a few occasional visits; but the pauperism is so insignificant a part of its concerns, that it has never once been a topic of conversation between me and its present minister.

62. Do you know whether there has been, in that parish, such an increase of population, as to diminish the wages of labour?—The truth is, my acquaintance with Fife has ceased for fifteen years, and I am scarcely able to reply to that question; but it is material to remark, that in Scotland the law of settlement does not so accumulate the people in any one parish as to make the wages of labour in it sensibly differ from those in the country at large.

63. In the assessed parishes now, is the condition of the peasantry as good or better than it was thirty years ago?—I am not able, from any personal observation of my own, to reply to that question.

64. In the unassessed parishes, do you think it is?—I do not think there has been any deterioration in the unassessed parishes.

65. Do you think they are better or worse off in their clothing, and the possession of the comforts of life, during the last thirty years?—I think there has been a rise in the standard of enjoyment amongst the Scotch peasantry in the last thirty years.

66. Is that the case also in the manufacturing population of the parishes to which you have alluded, where there are manufactures?—I should think they, notwithstanding the greater fluctuations to which they are exposed, participate, on the average, with the general population.

67. With respect to some of the parishes to which you have alluded, what are the habits of the working classes in those parishes, for instance, taking some of the parishes in which there are scarcely any assessments, is there much forethought and frugality among them? —I think a very great deal.

68. Are there any institutions for the purpose of aiding those habits there?—None in that particular parish.

69. For instance, in case of sickness, is there anything similar to the benefit societies in England?—I am not aware of any; it is likely there are some in the neighbouring towns. I may mention one institution to which I attached a great deal of importance; it may look like rather a subtle influence, but I hold it to be of substantial operation. I instituted a society, which was supported by the general population, at the expense of one penny a-week each, for the support of religious and philanthropic objects. I conceive that this had a most wholesome influence upon their economic condition; because it raised them all to the high state and character of givers, and in that way it widened their moral distance from the condition of receivers. I think that by the institution of that society, I raised and strengthened the barrier in the way of their descent to a state of pauperism. I may also here mention, that in the generality of unassessed parishes, where the collections are kept entire, and have not been diminished by the influence of assessment, there is what I would call a most beautiful operation running along the whole margin of pauperism. It is nearly the universal practice of the peasantry in Scotland to contribute a little to the collection on Sundays; the consequence of which is, that they are insensibly formed to the habit, and they feel themselves raised to the high condition of givers, having the same effect with that which I just now ascribed to the circumstance of their being associated with the support of a philanthropic society.

70. Are there any institutions, such as what are called Savings' Banks, in any of those parishes?—Had I been as much acquainted with Savings' Banks then as I

am now, I should certainly have instituted one in the parish of Kilmany. They are, on the whole, multiplying in Scotland.

71. In what way do they generally deposit or invest their savings, whatever they may be; is it in furniture, or in the purchase of a cow, or any thing of that sort?—I would say, it is very usual for them to have a good stock of furniture, or a cow.

72. Is it usual for the peasantry in those unassessed parishes to possess a cow?—It is not infrequent, but by no means universal. There has been an unfortunate change in the habit of the agricultural parishes. The farmers, instead of employing married servants, have a very general preference for the employment of unmarried servants; the men live in a kind of outhouse, which they call a bothy, and they are not so domesticated as they used to be with the farmer. There was a good old practice, very prevalent in Scotland fifty years ago, of the farmer assembling all his servants every night and having family worship, besides observing all the habits and all the decencies of family religion on the Sabbath. In this way there was a kind of domestic relation established between the farmer and his servants, and a very high moral influence attendant upon it.

73. Can you state in those parishes to which you have spoken, in which there is no assessment, what were the wages of the peasantry at any given period, for example, at the beginning of the century, and at any period since?—The wages were paid a good deal in kind; and I think I may say they averaged about a peck of meal in the day.

74. Are the wages, whether paid in kind or paid in money, as good now, in proportion to their wants, in those unassessed parishes as they were in the beginning of the century?—I am not acquainted with the present rate of wages in the unassessed parishes.

75. Generally speaking, are the wages in Scotland as good now, in proportion to the wants of the people, as they were forty years ago?—I would not like to commit myself to any precise answer upon that matter; but my belief is, that the people now have a greater

command over the comforts of life than they had forty years ago.

76. Are you aware that the sum you have mentioned as paid for the assessments in those parishes which are the worst managed in Scotland, and where the abuses you have described have made the most advance, are about the same as the sums paid in the very best managed in the northern parts of England?—I think it is very likely they may be about equal with those in contiguous parishes in the north of England.

77. Are the agricultural labourers in the unassessed parishes in general in the possession or occupation of land?—Not generally. The produce of a cow is often allowed to them; which cow belongs to the farmer, and is maintained upon the farm.

78. Had they gardens to their cottages?—Very small gardens.

79. You have stated, that in your experience of that parish, there was rather a tendency to consolidate small farms into large ones; had that system the effect of lowering the condition of the poor?—I am not sensible of its having had any such effect. I have no doubt they would experience the inconvenience of a transition state. It has given rise to the erection of a great many country hamlets, which have swollen into villages, and which are chiefly occupied by country artificers.

80. Have you found it produce any effect upon the practical demand for labour, or a consequent reduction of the rate of wages?—The transition took place previous to my connexion with the parish, so that I could not very well say.

81. In that parish were there any cases of exposure of children?—Not one within the compass of my recollection.

82. Were there any cases of illegitimacy which rendered any parochial relief necessary?—The cases of illegitimacy were very infrequent, and when they do occur, no relief is given.

83. Is child murder at all frequent?—I am not acquainted with a single instance of it in the county of Fife.

84. How do you account for the stationary state of the population in that parish in Fife?—I should ascribe it to the fact of the agriculture not requiring any additional hands; and the population, free to move wherever there is greater encouragement, accommodates itself to the demand there is for them.

85. You have stated that the habits of the people in those parishes are those of forethought and consideration; does that apply itself to the article of marriage as well as to other engagements into which the poor enter?—There is a remarkable contrast in this respect between one part of Scotland and another. I remember a habit that used to be in full operation, which may have declined a little, though far from being wholly extinct, that after the virtuous attachment was formed, and an engagement was entered into, there was often the delay of years occupied with the labour of collecting what they used to call a providing, which was a most enormous mass of bed and table linen, generally a great deal more than was at all needful. It was a point of distinction, in fact, amongst the Scottish peasantry, to amass a preparation of this sort, which, on the day previous to the marriage, was exhibited to all the neighbours. This produced a very wholesome delay. I have been informed that this providential sort of anticipation was carried so far that in many instances the grave-clothes formed one article of this preparation.

86. Do the same habits of providing, and of forethought against expense, still continue to actuate the peasantry?—I think in country parishes that are unassessed the habit is in a great measure unbroken; it has now taken a different direction, partly from this circumstance, that the practice of preparing what they called home made cloth has been exchanged for the practice of purchasing from dealers. They find this cheaper, and there has been a gradual disappearance of the household manufacture.

87. Do not you think that the habit of forethought so exercised will have considerable effect on their subsequent conduct in after life?—Decidedly so. I consider it as a guarantee for their subsequent good conduct.

88. In what year did your connexion with Glasgow commence?—In 1815.

89. To what parish in Glasgow were you appointed?—To the Tron Church parish, where I remained four years; I was afterwards transferred to the newly erected parish of St John's, where I remained other four years, from 1819 to 1823.

90. Will you state the number of parishes in Glasgow, and the general system of the town management of the poor at the time you went there?—When I went there, there were eight parishes; there are now ten. The collections at the different church doors were thrown into one fund, under the administration of a body denominated the General Session. This General Session consisted of all the clergy and all the elders of the separate parishes in Glasgow. There was a distinction made between sessional poor and Town Hospital poor. The way in which the sessional poor were provided was, that out of the fund constituted by the separate collections from all the parishes, the general session sent back to each parish the sum they thought right, according to their judgment of the state and the necessities of each parish. With that sum each separate session supported that class of poor called the sessional. If there was a felt pressure upon the sessional fund in any parish, then so many of its sessional paupers were transferred to the compulsory fund that was under the administration of the Town Hospital; and the peculiarly aggravated cases were, without passing through the intermediate state of sessional pauperism, passed immediately to that institution for the more liberal or the entire support, which the kirk-session could not afford them. The Town Hospital fund is a fund raised by assessment.

91. Does the Town Hospital imply an establishment in which the poor were received, and relief given to them?—Yes. The more helpless and aggravated cases were admitted into the house, and were called inmates; the others not admitted were called out-pensioners on the Town Hospital.

92. Was the expense of maintaining the poor in Glas-

gow matter of increase during the period of your residence there, taking the whole town together?—In 1803 the poor rate of Glasgow was L.3,940; in 1818, L.11,864; in 1820, it was L.13,120.

93. Can you state what the population of Glasgow was in those two years?—I have no other account to give of the population than is afforded by the Parliamentary table. In the year 1811 the population was 58,343; in the year 1821 the population was 73,665; I am speaking of Glasgow within the precincts of the city, exclusive of the two great suburbs that formed the parishes of the Gorbals and the Barony.

94. Was the system of administering relief at the time of your first settlement in Glasgow the same in all the parishes of the town, or did it differ?—It was the same in all the parishes.

95. Have you any observations to make to the Committee with respect to the condition of the first parish to which you were appointed, the Tron Church, at the time of your appointment, and during the period of your ministry?—I disliked very much the condition of the parish at the outset of my connexion with it, and withdrew altogether from any share in the management of its pauperism; I felt it my duty to do so. In the eyes of the population the minister stood connected, not merely with the administration of this compulsory fund, but with the administration of a great many such charities as we call mortifications in Scotland, which are endowments for indigence, left by benevolent citizens, and who generally constitute the clergy their trustees. Among the earliest movements I made through the families, I was very much surprised at the unexpected cordiality of my welcome, the people thronging about me, and requesting me to enter their houses. I remember I could scarcely make my way to the bottom of a close in the Salt-market, I was so exceedingly thronged by the people; but I soon perceived that this was in consequence of my imagined influence in the distribution of these charities; and I certainly did feel a very great recoil, for it was so different from the principle upon which I had been received with cordiality in my

country parish, where the topic of their temporal necessities was scarcely ever mentioned: I therefore resolved to dissever myself from the administration of these charities altogether. I soon made the people understand that I only dealt in one article, that of Christian instruction; and that if they chose to receive me upon this footing, I should be glad to visit them occasionally. I can vouch for it that the cordiality of the people was not only enhanced, but very much refined in its principle after this became the general understanding: that of the 10,000 entries which I have made at different times into the houses of the poor in Glasgow, I cannot recollect half-a-dozen instances in which I was not received with welcome. I thus stood aloof during those four years from the administration of all those charities, yet very desirous all the while of a parish where I would be suffered to proceed in my own way, and to manage them upon that system which I thought most conducive both to the morality and to the economic well-being of their families; this I could not accomplish in my first situation from the way in which we stood implicated with a general system of management; and I had no great heart to lend my aid to modifications and improvements upon a system which I felt to be radically and essentially evil. I believed that unless there was an utter change of principle, it was impossible to proceed with any degree of comfort and prosperity, and therefore it was that I kept aloof altogether from the management of the Glasgow pauperism during the first four years.

96. Did the distribution of those charities, during the four years of your ministry in that parish, continue, although you withheld your co-operation in the management of them?—There was enough of agency without me for the administration of these charities; I saw that by every movement I made I was awakening a host of sordid mercenary feelings and expectations on the part of the poor, and I felt that this was not placing me on right vantage ground, for the purpose of doing them any moral or religious good.

97. In attending to the condition of that parish, dur-

ing the four first years of your ministry, had you the means of observing whether those bequests and charities to which you have alluded produced in their distribution any real or permanent good in the condition of the poor?—I have no doubt that, in as far as those charities were applicable to the relief of general indigence, they did mischief.

98. To what parish were you removed after you quitted the Tron parish?—There was a new parish erected by the magistrates under the name of St John's parish, in Glasgow, and they did me the honour of presenting me to that parish. I think it right to state, that my great inducement to the acceptance of that parish was, my hope thereby to obtain a separate and independent management of the poor, which I felt it extremely difficult to obtain in my former parish from the way in which we were dovetailed and implicated with a number of distinct bodies: there was in the first place the general session, which resisted the separation of my parish from the general system; then I had to negotiate the matter with the magistrates; thirdly, I was resisted by the Town Hospital; lastly, I was complained of to the Presbytery of Glasgow; by them the matter was referred to the General Assembly: so that the legal and political difficulties that stood in the way of the arrangement were not to be told; they formed, in truth, all the difficulties of the problem, for after these were overcome, the natural difficulties turned out to be so many bugbears, and quite disappeared. When the offer of St John's parish was tendered to me by the Lord Provost of Glasgow, I wrote him the following letter, which will explain to the Committee the footing on which I undertook the parish:—

"Glasgow, August 3d, 1819.

"My Lord,—When I received the intimation of my appointment as minister of St John's, it gave me sincere pleasure to be informed, at the same time, that a letter written by myself to Mr Ewing was read to the magistrates and council previous to my election, as it gave me the flattering assurance that the leading objects

adverted to in that letter met with the approbation of the honourable body over which your Lordship presides. In that letter I adverted to the wish I had long entertained, and which is publicly enough known by other channels, for a separate and independent management, on the part of my session, of the fund raised by collections at the church door, and with which fund I propose to take the management of all the existing sessional poor within our bounds, and so to meet the new applications for relief, as never to add to the general burden of the city by the ordinary poor of the parish of St John's. And I here beg it to be distinctly understood, that I do not consider the revenue of the kirk-session to be at all applicable to those extraordinary cases which are produced by any sudden and unlooked-for depression in the state of our manufactures; nor, if ever there shall be a call for pecuniary aid on this particular ground, do I undertake to provide for it out of our ordinary means, but will either meet it by a parochial subscription, or by taking a full share of any such general measure as may be thought expedient under such an emergency. Your Lordship will not fail to observe, that if the new cases of ordinary pauperism accumulate upon us in the rate at which they have done formerly, they would soon overtake our present collections. And yet my confidence in a successful result is not at all founded on the expected magnitude of my future collections, but upon the care and attention with which the distribution of the fund will be conducted; a care and an attention which I despair of ever being able to stimulate effectually till I obtain an arrangement by which my session shall be left to square its own separate expenditure by its own separate and peculiar resources. At the same time, I can also, with such an arrangement, stimulate more effectually than before the liberality of my congregation; and with this twofold advantage, I am hopeful not merely of being able to overtake the whole pauperism of St John's, but of leaving a large surplus applicable to other objects connected with the best interests of the population in that district of the city. What I propose to do with

the surplus is, to apply it as we are able to the erection and endowment of parochial schools, for the purpose of meeting our people, not with gratuitous education, but with good education on the same terms at which it is had in country parishes. My reason for troubling your Lordship with this intimation is, that I require the sanction of the heritors of the parish ere I can allocate any part of the sum raised by collections in this way. Without this sanction, I shall make no attempt to stimulate the liberality of my congregation beyond what is barely necessary for the expenses of pauperism; with this sanction I shall have the best of all arguments by which to stimulate the liberality of my hearers, and the care of my distributors, and (most important of all) the zealous co-operation even of the poorest among my people, who will easily be persuaded to observe a moderation in their demands, when they find it stands associated with a cause so generally dear to them as the education of their families. There is another object which I shall not press immediately, but which your Lordship will perceive to be as necessary for the protection of the other parishes of Glasgow as of my own, and that is, that the law of residence shall take effect between my parish and the other parishes of the city; I am quite willing that every other parish shall have protection by this law from the ingress of my poor, in return for the protection of my parish from the ingress of theirs. It is practically the simplest of all things to put this into operation from the very outset; but I mention it now chiefly with a view to be enabled to remind your Lordship, when it comes to be applied for afterwards, that it is not because of any unlooked-for embarrassment that I make the application, but in pursuance of a right and necessary object which even now I have in full contemplation. I shall only conclude with assuring your Lordship, that nothing will give me greater pleasure than to transmit from time to time the state of our progress in the parish of St John's respecting all the objects alluded to in this communication; and that I hold myself subject to the same inspection and control from you, as the heritors of my parish, which

the law assigns to the heritors of other parishes. A deed of consent and approbation relative to the various points that have now been submitted through your Lordship to the magistrates and council, will very much oblige, "My Lord,

"Your Lordship's most obliged and obedient servant,

(Signed) "THOMAS CHALMERS."

I esteemed it peculiarly fortunate, that by the erection of this parish, I was transferred to a situation so very much to my mind, and not the less that it was the poorest parish in Glasgow.

99. Can you state what the population of it was, and what was the amount of assessment at the time of your appointment?—The population was upwards of 10,000, and was afterwards reduced to about 8,000 by the erection of another parish in its neighbourhood, which other parish took a slice off mine; but the population of St John's has risen to upwards of 10,000 again, being in the eastern extremity of Glasgow, where there happens to be a great deal of vacant ground and a great many new buildings of late.

100. Then the diminution of population to which you refer was a diminution of the area of the parish, and the subsequent increase of the population was an augmentation of the numbers?—Exactly so.

101. What was the character of the population?—Exclusively manufacturing, with the exception of shopkeepers, and a few of the upper classes, amounting to about a dozen families.

102. What was the amount of money levied for the support of the poor in the parish of St John's, at the time of your appointment?—There is no distinct sum raised for each separate parish in Glasgow; I speak at present as to the amount of the sessional poor, who at the time of my appointment cost L.225 a-year. With regard to the Town Hospital poor it was very difficult to ascertain the precise expenditure, consisting as it did of outlay both for inmates and out-pensioners, the latter of whom were perpetually changing their residence from one parish of Glasgow to another. I consider

the most important circumstance to be, that St John's, by certain *criteria*, could be demonstrated to be naturally the poorest parish in Glasgow, and with more than one-tenth of the population.

103. What system did you adopt upon your appointment for the future management of the poor in the parish of St John's?—The collection at the time that I passed from the Tron church parish to the parish of St John's, was about L.400 a-year, and the expense of the sessional poor was L.225 a-year, so that the collection exceeded the expense. What I gave in return for this excess was, an obligation to send no more poor to the Town Hospital of Glasgow, so that with the dying out of the cases that were upon the compulsory fund, this portion of Glasgow would be completely cleared of its compulsory pauperism. I did not and could not foresee what future necessities might arise for which I could now obtain no relief from the Town Hospital; I thought it, therefore, a very moderate and fair bargain, when for the surplus of L.175 which I withdrew from the general fund, I undertook to send no more cases to the Town Hospital, so as eventually to relieve that institution of the burden of St John's, with the disappearance of the old cases. I felt, however, that the sum of L.400 in the hands of my elders, with an expenditure at the time of only L.225 might induce a relaxation in the management of the poor, in which case the cost of the sessional pauperism might very soon have mounted up to L.400 a-year. To avoid this hazard, I succeeded in forming another body, a body of deacons, recognized in old time by the constitution of the Church of Scotland, though since fallen very much into desuetude. Beside my day congregation, which consisted chiefly of the higher classes from all the different parts of the city, to whom I looked for the higher collection, I instituted an evening congregation, and gave a preference for the seats to my parishioners, who thus formed a parochial congregation. Their collection amounted only to L.80 in the year, consisting chiefly of halfpennies, contributed by many, at least of the evening hearers, though not all of them, because the practice of

giving to the collection had fallen very much into desuetude among the lower classes in Glasgow. The elders were put in charge of the day collection, and out of it they relieved the existing sessional poor; that is, the sessional poor who were in being at the commencement of the scheme. The deacons were put in charge of the evening collection, and with it, it was their peculiar business to entertain all the new applications, to treat them with kindness yet firmness, inquiring thoroughly into the circumstances and the claims of every applicant. There never was more patient and persevering inquiry exercised by any set of men than was exercised at the outset by my deacons. At first the result was quite uncertain, but I did anticipate that the deacons would be enabled, on the L.80 a-year, to meet the new applicants for a considerable time, during which the old pauperism, both hospital and sessional, would be dying away, after which we would get the parish of St John's translated into the moderate economy of an unassessed Scottish parish, where the poor were maintained by voluntary collections without assessment.

104. What was the result of the system you have described, and how far were the objects you had in view realized?—The success of the system greatly outstripped my own anticipations. I continued with them four years: the whole number of new paupers admitted during these four years were twenty; of which number those admitted on the ground of general indigence were thirteen, and their annual expense was L.35; the number admitted on the ground of extraordinary and hopeless disease was two, and their annual expense was L.14 16s.; the number admitted on the ground of that necessity which springs from crime was five, there being two illegitimate children, and three families of runaway husbands, whose annual expense amounted to L.19 10s. So that when I left St John's, the annual expenditure of the new pauperism that had been formed was L.66 6s.

105. Can you state what the decrease of the whole pauperism was in that interval, and how your relation stood with the Town Hospital funds at the close of your proceedings?—The decrease was so great that I felt

myself warranted to do what I could not have ventured upon at the outset: I made an offer to the Town Hospital of relieving them of all their pauperism that they could fairly trace to the parish of St John's at any former period; I took the whole of that pauperism upon the sessional fund, leaving the deacons to the exclusive management, as before, of the new cases, and leaving the elders to the management of the old pauperism, now augmented; because in the first instance they had only to do with the sessional, but now they also undertook the Town Hospital pauperism connected with St John's. After all, I found that was not enough for the absorption of the sum raised by the day collection, and I confess that I had a twofold object in devising for it an additional topic of expenditure: I wished, in the first instance, to give such a direction to it as might conduce to the moral good of the population; and therefore I took away L.500 from the accumulated sum now in the hands of the elders, and succeeded therewith in endowing a parish school; besides that the session charged themselves with L.75 a-year for salaries to three other teachers. My other object was, to prevent too great an accumulation of money, and for this purpose to provide a safe and salutary absorbent. The truth is, that a large capital in the hands of a kirk-session might produce, to a certain degree, the same mischief that the regular and ample ministrations of compulsory pauperism do.

106. Did you contemplate, amongst the benefits connected with the alteration of system, a different and improved system of management, derived from the local nature of parochial arrangements, as compared with the central management of the General Session and the Town Hospital?—In one respect the old and the new managements are alike. It is the practice to divide each parish into districts, which districts are called proportions. I divided my own parish into twenty-five proportions, and assigned a proportion to each deacon. When I had the full number of deacons, which was not always the case, each had the management of a population of about 400.

107. Was not the principle of that management local management; whereas the principle of the former system was rather general superintendence, as connected with the entire town?—Yes, in as far as the administration of the Town Hospital fund was concerned. And even under the old sessional management, they had not the full benefit of the local principle; which can only be secured by a local distribution emanating not from a general fund, but out of the local means.

108. Do you attach great importance to that distinction of principle between a local administration and a more central and general administration?—I attach the greatest importance to it.

109. Did you find it difficult to obtain the co-operation of your parishioners in filling the office of deacons?—Those deacons, generally speaking, were not parishioners; I would have preferred their being so, but ours was the most plebeian parish in Glasgow, and there were very few of that class to whom I could have confided the administration of the poor's fund; but I found no difficulty in obtaining the requisite agency from other parts of the city.

110. What effect did you find to be produced by your alteration of system upon the habits of the poor within the parish?—They were certainly not in a worse economic condition in consequence of the change of system than the other parishes of Glasgow; and seeing that the expenditure was so much more moderate, the only inference is, that there must have been a compensation for the smallness of the parochial allowance from some other quarters; and I can think of no other sources out of which that compensation could come, than such as would contribute very much both to the comfort and to the character of the population. In the first instance, there must have been a certain stimulus to their own industry and economy, when loosened from their dependence upon the large compulsory fund. In the second instance, there must have been an increased aid and support from relatives to each other. In the third, there must have been an increased kindness amongst the poor in the contiguous families of that neighbour-

hood; that I consider a very important resource; and the last, which I consider as comparatively unimportant, and of which I did not avail myself during all the four years of my connexion with St John's in more than twelve instances, that I can recollect, must have been a stimulated benevolence on the part of the more wealthy to the poorer classes.

111. Are you then of opinion, that there was not more of unrelieved distress under your improved system at St John's, than there had been when the expenditure for the poor had been so much larger?—I am quite of opinion that there was much less, because in the four sources of relief just mentioned there must have been greatly more than an over-passing compensation for all that had been withdrawn from them in the shape of public charity.

112. Were you able to trace, in any instances, the action of this principle of compensation in the private relief given as compared with what would have been the relief given under a system of parochial assessment?—I never, during my whole experience in Glasgow, knew a single instance of distress which was not followed up by the most timely forthgoings of aid and of sympathy from the neighbours; I could state a number of instances to that effect. I remember going into one of the deepest and most wretched recesses in all Glasgow, where a very appalling case of distress met my observation; that of a widow, whose two grown-up children had died within a day or two of each other. I remember distinctly seeing both their corpses on the same table; it was in my own parish. I was quite sure that such a case could not escape the observation of neighbours; I always liked to see what amount of kindness came spontaneously forth upon such occasions, and I was very much gratified to learn, a few days after, that the immediate neighbours occupying that little alley or court laid together their little contributions, and got her completely over her Martinmas difficulties. I never found it otherwise, though I have often distinctly observed, that whenever there was ostensible relief obtruded upon the eyes of the population they did

feel themselves discharged, from a responsibility for each other's wants, and released from the duty of being one another's keepers; and this particular case of distress met the observation of the Female Society at Glasgow, which society bears upon the general population, and with a revenue of some hundreds a-year, from which it can afford very little in each individual instance, besides the impossibility of having that minute and thorough acquaintance with the cases that obtains under a local management. I remember having heard that a lady, an agent of that society, went up stairs to relieve this widow, and gave all that the Female Society empowered her to give, which was just 5s. The people observing this movement felt that the poor woman was in sufficient hands, and that they were now discharged from all further responsibility. So that the opening of this ostensible source of relief closed up far more effectual sources, that I am sure would never have failed her.

113. Was this a solitary instance, or were there others that would lead to the support of the general conclusion that might be derivable from the case you have stated?—There are several such instances which I put upon record, and I think I could do more justice perhaps to the subject, if I may be permitted to read one or two of them: "The first case that occurs to us, is that of a weaver, who, though he had 6d. a-day as a pension, was certainly put into circumstances of difficulty, when two winters ago, in a season of great depression, the typhus fever made its deadly inroads upon his household. His distress was in the highest degree striking and noticeable; and it may therefore look strange that no sessional movement was made towards the relief of so afflicted a family. Our confidence was in the sympathies and kind offices of the immediate neighbourhood; and we felt quite assured that any interference of ours might have checked or superseded these to such a degree as would have intercepted more of aid than is ever granted by the most liberal and wealthiest of all our public institutions. An outcry, however, was raised against us, and we felt compelled, for our own vindication, to investigate as far as we

could the amount of supplies that had been rendered, and actually found that it exceeded at least ten times the whole sum that would have been allowed in the given circumstances out of the fund raised by assessment. It reconciled us the more to our new system, when given to understand, that the most liberal of all the benefactions was called forth by the simple information, that nothing had been done by any of the legal or parochial charities: nor did we meet with any thing more instructive in the course of those inquiries, than the obvious feeling of each contributor, that all he had given was so very insignificant. And it is just so, that the power of individual benevolence is greatly underrated; each is aware how incommensurate his own offering is to the necessity in question, and would therefore desiderate or demand a public administration of relief, else it is feared that nothing adequate has been done. He never thinks of that arithmetic by which it can be computed that all the private offerings of himself and others far outweigh that relief which, had it issued from the exchequer of a session or an almshouse, would have arrested those numerous calls of beneficence that are sure to flow in upon every case of visible destitution or distress, from the surrounding vicinity." There was a case that comes vividly home to my own recollection, that of a mother and daughter, both of whom were afflicted with cancer; I said to one of my agents that we really must interfere in this. The agent, who was a very enlightened and sensible person, and taught a Sabbath-school in the place, replied, "I would certainly have asked the session to have interfered, but I do not like to arrest a very beautiful process that is now going on, and by which the most timely supplies of aid and service are now pouring into the household." I did not want to deprive the neighbours of the opportunity of exercising their kind affections when they were so willing to do it; I was in the habit of visiting them occasionally, but the topic of their temporal distress was never obtruded by them upon me, and never once introduced by me to them; and I was perfectly assured that every thing was going on rightly, through

the mere workings of the natural process, left undisturbed by the operation of a public and proclaimed charity. The case was this: "A mother and daughter, the sole occupiers of a single apartment, were both afflicted with cancer, for which the one had to undergo an operation, while the other was so far gone as to be irrecoverable. A case so impressive as this required only to be known that it might be met and provided for; and, on the first warning of its necessity, a subscription could easily have been raised, out of the unforced liberalities of those who had been attracted from a distance, by the mere report of the circumstance having made its natural progress to their ears, and what then was it that superseded the necessity of such a measure? The exuberant and as yet untired kindness of those who were near, and whose willing contributions both of food, and of service, and of cordials, had lighted up a moral sunshine in this habitation of distress. Were it right that any legal charity whatever should arrest a process so beautiful? Were it even right that the interference of the wealthier at a distance should lay a freezing interdict on the play of those lesser streams, which circulate around the abode of penury and pain? We want not to exonerate the rich from their full share in the burden of this world's philanthropy; but it is delightful to think, that while, with their mightier gifts, an educational apparatus could be reared for good Christian tuition to the people, and good scholarship to their families, and so a barrier be set up against the profligacy of cities, there is meanwhile a spirit and a capability among the poor wherewith it is easy to ward off the scarcely inferior mischief of a corrupt and degrading pauperism." The history of this case is, that the mother died first, and the daughter died in about a year and a-half after the commencement of my acquaintance with them, and I told the person who stood on as a kind of observer, not to allow these people to suffer from want, and she said, she would certainly make a communication the moment she found it necessary; but the conduct of the immediate neighbourhood superseded the necessity of any exertion whatever in behalf of those

people during those eighteen months, at the end of which we were called upon to take part in an easy subscription for the expenses of the funeral. That was a case which, had it been brought before the Town Hospital, would have superseded and arrested this process of kindness among the immediate neighbours.

"The next matter that is suggested to our remembrance, is that of an accidental visit to an old woman, and of the information she gave relative to the kindness of her next door neighbour, in whose presence she told that she had received a dinner from her every day during the preceding month. Was it wrong to encourage and applaud this liberality, to assure the humble donor that she had been doing more for the object of her kindness than the wealthiest session of the city would have awarded her; and that were it not for the mutual kindness of the people among themselves, it were utterly impossible to carry on the management of the poor with any degree of comfort or efficacy? Is it not right that the people should be taught the importance of their own generosity, and does not the free and undisturbed exercise of this virtue add to the amount of parochial happiness, as well as to the amount of parochial morality?"

"A very fine example of the natural sufficiency that there is among the people under even the most trying of domestic reverses, took place a few years anterior to our connexion with St John's. A family of six lost both parents by death; there were three children unable to provide for themselves, and the other three were earning wages. On an impression that they were not able to maintain themselves, application was made by them to their elder for the admittance of the three youngest into the Town Hospital, where, at the average of indoor pensioners, their maintenance would have cost at least L.20 a-year. He remonstrated with them on the evil of thus breaking up the family; on the duty of the older to see after the education and subsistence of the younger branches; and on the disgrace it would bring to them, by consigning their younger brothers and sisters to pauperism. He assured them that they would

find comparatively little difference in the sum which it required to maintain them when they all remained together, and offered them a small quarterly allowance so long as they should feel it necessary, would they try the experiment of keeping together, and helping on each other to the best of their ability. They gave way to this right moral suasion, and application for the stipulated quarterly sum was only made twice. Thus, by a trifling expenditure, a sum at least fifty-fold was saved to the Town Hospital. But the worth of such management to the habit and condition of the family cannot be estimated in gold. Who is there that does not applaud the advice, and rejoice in the ultimate effect of it? We could hold no sympathy either with the heart or understanding of him who should censure such a style of proceeding; and our conceptions lie in an inverse proportion from his altogether of the good and the better and the best, in the treatment of human nature."

"An aged and infirm female was ordered away from her tenement by its proprietor, and on inquiry it was found that there did not exist one earthly relative with whom she could be lodged. The patent way in such circumstances would have been to pass her to the Town Hospital, where she might have been received as one of the inmates. On making a round, however, amongst a few of the likeliest households in the vicinity, it was soon ascertained, that an old woman, the solitary occupier of a humble apartment, would willingly admit her to a place at her fire-side, and the shelter of her roof, for the very moderate allowance of sixpence a-week. Will any one say that the very comfort of this poor and interesting person was not more effectually consulted by an arrangement that served to domesticate her in a neighbourhood where she still found a harbour and a home, on the field of general society, than if transported thence, she had been doomed to breathe out the remainder of her days in the cheerless atmosphere and among the unhappy exiles of a poor-house."

114. Were there any Irish families amongst your parishioners in St John's?—A good many.

115. What proportion did they bear to the population of your parish?—I can state the proportion that they bear to the expense of the eastern district of the parish at present, where the Irish paupers cost St John's at present more than one-third of the whole expense. I made an attempt to obtain the precise number of Irish families in the parish, but I have not yet received any answer.

116. Did you find them, under that kind treatment you have described, as amicable in their conduct, and as orderly as the Scotch families?—As amicable, certainly; but in respect of order and sobriety, there is a marked distinction between the Scotch and the Irish families. At the same time, although there was a great deal said about the burthen of the Irish poor, I think, that under a purely gratuitous system, that, and every other burthen, might be made indefinitely small.

117. Did you perceive, as one of the effects of the altered system, improved habits on the part of the more wealthy classes?—I think there must have been, to a certain degree, an improved habit of liberality. On looking from a distance to the poor, or looking upon them *en masse*, we are very apt to have an exaggerated impression of their state of discomfort, which is very much mitigated by a nearer approach to their families.

118. Was there a very great degree of labour on your part, or on the part of your deacons, required for carrying this system of management into effect?—I think I can give the Committee complete information upon that question, and I am glad it has been put, because it is a question relative to which there exists a very great degree of misconception, as if the plan was not imitable in other parishes, from the immense agency required. In point of fact, we laboured under a very inconvenient press of applications at the outset of our proceedings, because the understanding of the population was, that we had found out a new method of supplying the poor, which they conceived, of course, was just some extraordinary contrivance for pouring abundance into the lap of every family. This produced rather an inconvenient re-action at the outset, and there

was a great and almost menacing press of applications; the deacons were therefore a good deal burdened with the business of inquiry at the first, but when the poor found that the object of that inquiry was to ascertain what their natural resources were, and that no public relief was given unless they could demonstrate that their case was worse than the case of a pauper relieved and supplied in other parishes, then they simply ceased to apply; they were thrown back upon their own natural resources, and felt the sufficiency of them in the way which I have already mentioned; and so our deacons, instead of being oppressed by the burden and the strenuousness of their management, wrought themselves, in a very few months, into the condition of so many sinecurists, who at length had little or nothing to do; the people ceased to apply, and in the course of a few weeks or months, we fell down to one-fifth of the applications to which we were exposed under the old system. I consider as particularly valuable the answers of these practical and experimental men to certain queries which I circulated amongst them before I left Glasgow: I wished to know particularly the local and intimate experience of each of the deacons relative to the families committed to his charge, and I thought that in that way, more effectually than in any other, I could fully expose the interior mechanism, as it were, of the operations that went on under the new system of pauperism. With the permission of the Committee I will first read the questions contained in the circulars which I addressed to them; they were as follow:

" 1. Of what proportion is it in St John's parish that you are deacon?

" 2. What is its population, as nearly as you can infer from your last survey?

" 3. How many paupers belong to it that are upon the deacons' fund?

" 4. How many applications may you have for parochial relief monthly or quarterly, as near as you can remember?

" 5. What time may the business of attending to these applications, and the necessary inquiries that you

had to make in consequence of them, have cost you upon the whole?

" 6. Are the applications more or less frequent since you entered upon your office?

" 7. Could you state how much time you are required to sacrifice, per week or per month, in making the requisite investigations that you are actually called to?

" 8. Do you think that a man in ordinary business would find the task of meeting the pauperism of such a district as yours so laborious as to put him to any sensible inconvenience?

" 9. Will you have the goodness to state any circumstances connected with your management that you think might elucidate the nature of the duties or attentions that you have had to discharge."

I will now beg leave to read the Committee a few selected passages from some of the answers of the deacons, as forming the most valuable experimental exhibition of the real state of the question that I know of any where.

One of the deacons says, " The latest survey was taken about a month ago, and from it I observe that this proportion contains 335 inhabitants. There is not at present a single pauper in this proportion upon the deacons' fund; nor has there occurred either an occasional or permanent case, requiring assistance from this fund, since I received the charge of it in the month of May, 1822. The number of applications for relief in this proportion has been very few during the last twelve months, not amounting to the best of my recollection to more than seven, or about an average, one every two months. Upon a review of these cases, I compute that I may have bestowed upon them about sixteen hours in the whole, or about a quarter of an hour per week at the utmost. All those applications for relief to which I have alluded occurred during the first six months after accepting office; which leaves nine months during which I have had not a single application for parish relief. Before I could be prevailed upon to take charge of this proportion, I imagined that, in consequence of my profes-

sional avocations, it would be quite impossible for me to accomplish such an object; but I was very much astonished to find, after a few months' trial, how simple a matter it was, and how easily managed; indeed, so light and pleasant did the duty seem, that I thought if all the other proportions were equally manageable, I could take upon me to manage the whole parish, and attend to my business besides. I am of opinion, that the first thing necessary to the proper discharge of the office which I hold, is to get immediately acquainted with every house and family in the proportion, in order to check any imposition which may otherwise be practised, and also to facilitate the investigation of every case which may occur."

Another deacon says, "Population, 466: not one pauper at present: have one application every five months nearly, and have had none for six months and a half past. If the question as to the time necessary for doing the work of a deacon refer merely to the time required to investigate the cases, I would say an hour in five months; but if to attendance at the examination of schools, making up a list of population, attending at the church for the evening collection, going to the several houses about the church seats, &c., then the time must be very considerably greater; probably, from the calculation made in a general way from memory, about one hour and a quarter per month. There would be no sensible inconvenience incurred by any man from being a deacon, if his duties are solely confined to the pauperism. Although I have acted as a deacon for about twenty-seven months, yet the cases have been so very few, that my experience has been but very limited, and consequently I am not able, I think, to suggest any thing which is likely to be useful; I may, however, just remark, that I think the two most requisite qualities in a deacon are kindness and firmness; kindness, that the people may be perfectly persuaded he is endeavouring to do every thing for their good; firmness, that he may be able to resist pathetic but ill-grounded applications for relief. If he also possesses some knowledge of the habits and character of the poor

he will be more likely to be able to be of service to them, and will run less risk of being imposed upon."

Another deacon says, " In order to maintain or produce a right feeling in a district, I conceive it necessary, that the deacon should make himself acquainted with all its families, endeavouring, especially, to obtain an accurate knowledge of the circumstances of those who seem likely to become applicants; and, having arrived at this knowledge, he has reached the most advantageous ground for his subsequent operations. Does he meet with a genuine case of distress, he may invite the sympathy and private charity of the neighbours towards it, and thereby provide for the sufferers in a far more ample manner than by a parish contribution. A case in my district of a poor woman, long under a lingering illness, and which terminated in her death, might be adduced to show how much even of comfort sometimes arises out of private charity. This person was unable, for a considerable time, to maintain herself by her own earnings, and yet no desire was manifested for parish aid; the neighbours, and those who had heard of her situation, came forward in her behalf, so that she appeared to stand in need of nothing that was necessary."

Another deacon, in answer, says, " You are aware the population of this proportion consists of very poor people; there is only one family above the rank of operatives: the district to which the above testimony relates is about the poorest in Glasgow. I offer the following very important notice, in regard to this district, from a former deacon who had the charge of it, but was obliged to quit it upon leaving town. Though foreign to our subject, I may state that I have received L.2 2s. out of the proportion to assist an outfit of emigrants to Quebec, and L.5 or L.6 from among the very poorest of them for Bible and Missionary Societies; these sums tend to prove that any of our proportions might be supported from its own resources."

Another deacon says, " The time necessary is so trifling as is not worthy of being noticed, not twenty hours per annum; the applications considerably less than at first; say one to four or five. In reply to your

eighth query, I have to say none whatever; the duties are simple, few in number, and easily overtaken; goodwill and affectionate interest in the affairs of the poor, with minute and persevering inquiry in every case, to prevent imposition, will enable the deacon almost to eradicate pauperism from his district; the above district, I may state, as being a very noticeable feature in Glasgow, includes the whole of Barrack-street."

Another deacon says, " In consequence of the small number of applications, the time required for inquiry has been very trifling; the applications are less frequent; I consider a person would sustain no sensible inconvenience from attending to the inquiry necessary for investigating the applications from this proportion."

Another deacon says, " I have had not exceeding one application quarterly, on an average of the last two years, and spent perhaps an hour on each application. The applications are much less frequent than at the outset; it would most certainly not in the smallest degree be inconvenient for a man in business to fulfil the duties of a deacon; when no less than three proportions were under my charge, and the applications numerous in proportion to what they are now, then they might have been inconvenient to a man much engrossed in business, but I could not even then give the necessary duties the appellation of laborious. I cannot offer any thing to elucidate the nature of the duties attached to the office of deacon, they are of so simple a nature; I may, however, say, that my practical experience has proved, to my entire satisfaction, that strict investigation of the applicant's situation, and the treating of the case according to its circumstances, is all that is wanting to diminish the number of applications."

Another deacon says, " It deserves to be remarked here, that though the people are poor and the deacon is at hand, yet that his vicinity does not expose him to any weight or overwhelming urgency of applications. This holds true also of the case of No. 9, proving that for the right management of pauperism, it is not at all necessary to flee the applications, but resolutely, and

we may add withal, kindly and humanely to canvass them."

Another deacon states, "I am deacon of a proportion, whose population, from last survey, is 284; there are no paupers on either the deacons' fund or on the session within the proportion.—*N. B.* I think it proper to add, that though this is the case, the proportion is one of the poorest in all St John's parish, only three families of the population being above the rank of labourers or journeymen mechanics." The same deacon further says: "The deacon who has favoured me with the above deposition is also a local Sabbath-school teacher, in a part of the city now out of my parish; the district which belongs to him, in this latter capacity, comprising two closses in the Saltmarket; I have great value for the assurance that he has often made to me verbally, that he is persuaded how, within the limits of this little territory, there is enough both of ability and good-will to provide for all the indigence that is to be found; though it really belongs to one of the most indigent quarters in the whole city."

Another deacon says, "I am convinced that the immediate readiness of the deacons at all times to procure employment for such as may find any difficulty, serves as a check against the lazy and indolent from applying for aid; and the strict scrutiny adopted in all cases of whatever nature, operates as a preventive in many instances against individuals, or their friends for them, from begging relief from the parish funds; the experience of nearly four years of the charge of the poorest proportion of the parish, has fully convinced me of the entire practicability of the system now adopted for the management of the poor of St John's; and I have just to repeat, that I am certain that I should find it no task whatever to meet the pauperism of double the number contained in this district; nor would the attention that might be required put me to any sensible inconvenience."

Another deacon says, "That the applications were considerably more numerous during the first year I entered upon the office than they can have been since.

That the task of meeting the pauperism of such a proportion would not put a man in ordinary business to any sensible inconvenience."

Another deacon says, " I have always, when I had it in my power, given work to the poor in the place of aliment, with which in general they were pleased. I have in two instances, where a husband left his wife and family, refused them any aid, and the consequence was, that the husband in the one instance came back to his family, and in the other, that the family found out the husband. Had the court of deacons interfered in this case, and given support to the family, apparently destitute of a husband and father, we should never have seen or heard anything of the husband; but the refusal of all aid from the court of deacons was the only cause, I am fully persuaded, of bringing the family together."

Another deacon says, " Since the commencement of our operations in St John's parish, the time occupied by me in attending to and investigating the applications may be about twenty-four hours, two-thirds of which were spent during the first twelve months. In the course of the second year, the other eight hours were requisite, and latterly the business has become quite a sinecure, as far as labour is concerned. In attending to cases in my own district, and investigating along with other deacons, in this I may have spent about six hours in the last twelve months; and as I consider this about the average time necessary to the other deacons, it is my opinion, that a man in ordinary business would be put to no sensible inconvenience in attending to the pauperism of any of our districts." He further says, " I have other three districts in my parish, one of which is exempted almost from its having paupers, and the other two of which are at present without deacons, and have been placed under the temporary charge of those to whom they do not properly belong." " I sincerely hope from the exposé which has now been given of the perfect facility, and I may add, pleasure attendant on the occupation, that they will not long remain vacant. The gentlemen will at length

find that the pauperism is a mere bagatelle; but still for the sake of that refining and tranquillizing effect which the mere friendly attentions of the upper classes have on the working classes of society, I should like to see a representative of our system in every proportion of the parish. He may so manage as at length to have nought whatever to do with the distribution of public alms; but he may stimulate the cause of education; he may give direction to the habit of economy; he may do a thousand nameless offices of kindness; he may evince good-will in a variety of ways; he may even, without any expenditure of money, diffuse a moral atmosphere that will soften and humanize even the most hard-favoured of his people. And as the fruit of those very light and simple attentions which are here recorded, he will at length feel that he has chalked out for himself a village in the heart of the city wilderness, whose inhabitants compose a very grateful and manage able family."

119. What was the condition of Glasgow, and more particularly in your parish of St John, during the years to which your experience more particularly refers? —The condition of Glasgow was perhaps the worst that had ever occurred; it was at the time that radicalism was at its height, and this radicalism had taken the unfortunate and alarming direction of insisting upon the English law of parochial aid being introduced and acted upon all over the city. I was waited upon by a deputation from a very large associated body of operatives, and they presented a petition for the establishment of parochial aid all over Glasgow. I was enabled to meet it in this way. I observed that I had extricated myself from the general management of Glasgow, and that rather than give an answer, therefore, to the representatives of a general associated body representing the whole town, I would confer with representatives from those members of the body who belonged to the parish of St John, and that I had no doubt I would be enabled to give a satisfactory answer to their application; the only answer I gave was, that I was quite sure that our deacons met every specific

application in a kind and patient manner, and that if there was any specific case of distress amongst them I was quite sure that it would be so met. The truth is, that it was the mere working of a legal or political spirit which actuated this movement; and when met by a challenge, that each should expose his personal wants there was felt the good wholesome Scotch aversion to come under any thing like the cognizance or surveillance of the kirk-session, and so I heard no more of it.

120. Was there considerable distress prevailing amongst the manufacturers, and a reduction in the rate of wages, and the demand for labour?—A very considerable distress; in consequence of which there was a general subscription raised, of which subscription our people shared, agreeably to the terms of the letter I addressed to the Lord Provost.

121. Can you state what proportion of the parish of St John received of that general subscription?—I can confidently say that it was a much smaller proportion than the rest of Glasgow received.

122. Was the smallness of that proportion owing to the less necessity there was for extraordinary relief in your parish?—I think it was owing very much to the business of requisite inquiry being confided to our deacons, who were so very expert in it, that all cases of unworthy application were intercepted.

123. Can you state whether, under the operation of the system which you have described to have been introduced and practised in the parish of St John, any considerable reduction took place in the amount of assessment, and in the number of persons receiving relief? —The whole of the assessment for St John's was cleared away. In as far as the general assessment for the city was concerned, there was a considerable reduction at first, and which reduction was explained by those who were not friendly to the system on principles altogether different from any relief that had been rendered, in consequence of the withdrawment of all new pauperism from the parish of St John.

124. Do you suppose that the system pursued at St

John's might have had the effect of banishing paupers from that parish and throwing them upon other parts of the city of Glasgow?—That was certainly the imagination at one time; but we produced quite satisfactory evidence of the interchange of paupers between St John's and the other parishes of Glasgow being against our parish. I can state in numbers what importation of paupers we received from the other parishes, and what number of paupers left us during the time of my connexion with St John's. The egress of our poor to other parishes amounted to fifteen, the ingress from other parishes amounted to twenty-nine in four years. Since I have left St John's, there was only an account taken of the egress and ingress from the western districts of the parish, comprehending about one-half of the poor. The egress from the western district between September, 1819, and September, 1829, was thirty-six; the ingress fifty-four, so that upon the whole the balance has been against us.

125. Can you state whether there has been any reduction in the expense of assessment in the other parts of Glasgow, which was concurrent with the entire extinction of the assessment in the parish of St John? —There was first a reduction, and then after that an increase. I do not ascribe much influence either in the one way or the other to the success of the experiment in St John's, because, along with the relief that our parish gave to the general assessment, there might be insensibly, and without reflection on any body of men, a slight relaxation on the part of the management of the Town Hospital; and it is very easy from that cause alone to account for the creation of as much additional pauperism in the other parishes as would compensate the extinction of pauperism in the parish of St John. In point of fact, however, I believe the management by the directors of the Town Hospital to be as good as under the system is at all possible. I have never reflected against their management, but against that principle of a compulsory provision, the mischief of which no management can neutralize.

126. Have you been able to trace the condition of the parish of St John subsequently to your removal from thence?—I have had correspondence with the present managers of St John's parish within these few weeks, from which I am enabled to give the Committee a precise statement of the condition of the pauperism there at this moment. The whole annual expense of St John's pauperism, in September, 1829, which is the time at which they make up their accounts, was L.384 17s. 7d.

127. Was that sum raised by assessment?—Not by assessment; the object of my experiment was to conduct the parish of St John back again to the same mode of relieving the poor which obtains in the unassessed parishes of Scotland; and this has been kept up from 1819, or ten years ago, during all which time St John's has been wholly dissevered from the Town Hospital, and from any benefit of the fund raised by assessment; I may here except a little occasional aid from the hospital surgeons, a department of public charity that might with safety be continued.

128. Then the Committee are to understand that the system laid down by you has been persevered in up to the present moment in the parish of St John?—It has; of this L.384 17s. 6d., the expense for lunatics is L.34 17s. 9d., and the expense for orphans and deserted children is L.117 8s. Abstracting these two sums, there remains L.232 for the general indigence in St John's parish.

129. Are those lunatics supported in a parochial establishment, or in the general establishment of Glasgow?—They are sent to the Lunatic Asylum, but the parish has to pay for them. It was conceived, when I left Glasgow, that I was turning my back upon my own system, and that in fact it was because of the disappointment I felt in regard to its success. Such being the imagination, the most essential service I could render to the general cause was to leave Glasgow altogether. Under the guise of a compliment to myself, the true principle of the success upon which that experiment hinged was altogether misunderstood. It was

ascribed to a preternatural energy on my part, whereas a plan is worth nothing unless it succeeds with ordinary instruments operating upon ordinary materials, so as quietly to prosper upon its own principles. I should like on this subject to repeat an illustration that I have often employed in argument, which, though rather homely, is, I think, an effective one. I have sometimes imagined a diseased excrescence upon a man's face connected with his habit of drinking port wine, and that he had been under a council of physicians for years, who had managed in a variety of ways, but that the disease only got worse: suppose another physician discovers the real connexion between the excrescence and its cause, he has, perhaps, infinite trouble and pains in the work of breaking up the old council of physicians, and at length gets alongside of his patient, after which he has nothing to do but to lay a firm interdict on the further use of port wine, after which the excrescence subsides, not by any further care or strenuousness on his part, but in virtue of the *vis medicatrix* in the body natural. Now, that was precisely my experience in the parish of St John's ; it was under a very complex management, and the whole of my difficulties were of an artificial and political sort. The difficulty was not to make our system succeed, but to get the system established at all, after which it stood as a barrier between the disease and that which I hold to be the aliment of the disease, the compulsory fund, when by the pure *vis medicatrix* of the body politic, the pauperism subsided of itself. We were complimented for our strenuousness and skill; but we all along felt it to be quite undeserved, assured as we were, that under the same system the same effects would follow all the world over.

130. Do those observations comprehend your view of the rationale of your experiment?—On the subject of the rationale, I do not think I can speak more effectually than I have already written in a few lines taken from a small pamphlet I have published. "This is the rationale of the process: a deacon, when first appointed to his district, may find it very troublesome at the first,

and perhaps alarmingly so. There is among a part of the people a very natural expectation from him, and urgency upon him at the outset of his ministrations, and it is in the power of a very few to keep him in considerable perplexity and occupation for some time; but let him meet with strict investigation one and all of the applications that are made, and this at last will act upon them by a preventive influence, and they simply cease to apply. If it be his object to guide them as much as he may to their own resources, all who are conscious of such resources will shun the detection and the disgrace attending an unworthy application. At the same time his own sentiment as to the evil and the disgrace of public charity insensibly spreads itself among the population, and the more surely if there be perfect frankness in his intercourse, and perfect friendship in his regards towards them. It is thus that, in ordinary times, he may conduct them in a very few weeks to a habit of most mild and manageable quiescence; a habit from which, if they are not disturbed by new methods of administration, by changes of system, and reports of great things to be done, and great things intended for them, they will persevere in for ever." With reference to the present state of St John's, I would like to mention, that never a parish underwent such rough treatment, or passed through so severe an ordeal as it has done since I left it, for there have been two successors, and pretty long vacancies, during which vacancies the collections of course fell away; the management wanted a head; yet we weathered all those reverses, inasmuch that Mr M'Farlane, my first successor, was enabled to write of the plan in this way, in a letter dated Glasgow, 13th of December, 1825: "In the meantime I can state with confidence from my own observation, that a radical spirit at least discovers itself in the sturdiness with which men and women insist on relief from our poor fund; and I have no doubt that the spirit of radicalism is greatly increased by the separation which compulsory provision for the poor creates between the rich and the poor. You must be surprised, when I tell you we have had no prosecutions, though we

have repeatedly been threatened with them. The experiment has succeeded in all points. I will not say beyond Dr Chalmers's, but certainly beyond my most sanguine expectations. I do not despair of seeing the plan universally adopted in Glasgow." Then, in a letter of the 19th August, 1826, he says, "I am consoled by reflecting, that the experience of the deacons during a long vacancy, and Mr Brown's (present minister of St John's) experience since his induction, unite with my own in proving the excellence of the St John's system, and that there is nothing to hinder it from being permanent but the lukewarmness of the agency. At present they are as full of zeal in the cause as they were under Dr Chalmers. I hope I may be able to encourage them by the introduction of the system into St Enoch's parish, and I do not despair of seeing all Glasgow pervaded by this wholesome mode of attending to the wants of the poor. You may state, on the best authority, that there is not the most distant prospect of its falling to the ground, and that the successors of Dr Chalmers, you have reason to believe, approve of it as strongly as the Doctor himself."

131. Can you state the average number who have derived assistance from this fund in the parish of St John?—When we commenced our operations we had 117 sessional poor, and, as far as they could be traced, forty-nine hospital poor: the sessional poor we ourselves undertook, the others we left to the Town Hospital. This number of 117 was reduced to ninety-eight by the abstraction of a slice from the parish; and during my incumbency in St John's it was further reduced to seventy-seven, and that without sending any new cases to the Town Hospital. The achievement would have been equal to my own expectation although that number had remained stationary, because the whole promise of the achievement was, that no new cases were to be sent to the Town Hospital, but in point of fact the sessional poor were reduced in number. Then, in 1820, I think it is fair to take back the nineteen again, who were taken away by the abstraction of a slice, because the population has increased as much since that

time as it was diminished by the abstraction. In 1829, then, the present number of paupers is ninety-nine; whereas the original number of paupers when I undertook the management of the parish, including both Town Hospital and sessional poor, was 164. I have one thing more to say: there is mention made in Mr M'Farlane's letter about the agents keeping up their attention and their strenuousness; the Committee have been made aware of the small labour that it costs the agents, but supposing a new agent comes in, until the people have had experience of equal skill or of equal strenuousness on his part, he has naturally a press of applications at the outset, which, if met by him as by the other agents, will just be followed up by the same result; that is, the people will simply cease to apply. Now I think it important to advert to this circumstance, because it is said that the plan is not universally imitable; for where can we find such an agency? Now I should like it to be understood wherein the precise use and necessity of that agency consisted. Were there no Town Hospital in our immediate neighbourhood, were there no system of compulsory provision all about us, and were we not under the necessity of so investigating every case as to make it palpable that all the ascertained poor are as well off in St John's as in the parts immediately around, there would be no need of such an agency at all. We are under the necessity of producing that vindication, because it has been by our own movement that we have passed these people from a compulsory to a gratuitous system of relief; but in a natural state of things no strenuousness on the part of an agency would be necessary, and the only reason why this strenuousness is required is, that an artificial or compulsory provision has given a movement to the people in one direction, and there is the necessity for an artificial counteractive to keep the people back in the other direction, so as to keep them in an intermediate and right state. This is very much confirmed by the case of the parish of Gorbals, the state of whose pauperism, though not so striking as that of St John's, because there, there was no retracing process, is fully

as instructive in regard to the real principle upon which public charity ought to proceed; because, in as far as the parish of Gorbals is concerned, it never has adopted the system of a compulsory provision. The peculiarity of the parish of St John is, that after having adopted and proceeded a great length under a compulsory provision, there was a means devised of tracing it back, but the parish of Gorbals never has adopted it, and accordingly they have no such peculiar agency of deacons as we have, yet without this they exhibit a far more marvellous pecuniary result. It is evident from their case, that no strenuous agency is required where the people have been deprived of no right, and have not been habituated to any expectation from a compulsory fund.

132. Then in a county in which the poor law system, by means of assessment, was not already introduced, the difficulty and the necessity of the agency you have described in the parish of St John's would not exist?—It would not; I had several agencies in St John's; I had a Sabbath school agency for Christian and educational objects; I think that in every country such agencies are desirable; but for a mere economical object, and with reference to pauperism, I should say, that no strenuousness of agency is requisite.

133. Then you consider that this strenuousness of agency is requisite to extricate a parish from an artificial state, and not to maintain it in a natural state, if it be already placed in it?—Precisely so.

134. The last letter to which you adverted was in 1826; have you any subsequent accounts of the state of the parish of St John's?—I have a very satisfactory letter from Mr M'Farlane, my first successor, who has been transferred to another parish in Glasgow, dated 20th of April, 1830.

"My Dear Sir,

"You cannot be more fully satisfied of the excellence of the St John's system of pauperism than I am, nor can I imagine how any man who approves of our country parish system can object to it, for it has always appeared to me to be neither more nor less than the

Scottish country parish system applied by means of a peculiar agency or machinery to our city parishes. I hope to be able, at no distant period, to show, that if there is in our large towns a greater number of poor, there is also a much greater amount of wealth to supply the wants of the poor, and no want of a disposition to apply it to that purpose. The St John's system appears to me to create the link which connects the rich and the beneficent with the poor, it being the office of the deacons not only to prevent imposture by their rigid examination of all the cases which come before them, but also to bring the real and deserving poor under the eye of those who may have it in their power to provide work for their children, or to contribute otherwise to their relief. As the friend of the poor, I am an advocate for the system; I am convinced that if it universally prevailed in our large towns, it would greatly alleviate much of the misery which now exists, and, by creating and strengthening habits of industry and economy, would promote materially the moral improvement, and consequently the happiness of the poor.

"The experience of the sixteen months during which I was minister of St John's confirmed the favourable opinion which I previously entertained of the system; it worked well in all respects; with an income from collections not much exceeding L.300 we kept down the pauperism of a parish containing a population of 10,000, and I know from actual observation that the poor were in better condition, and, excepting the worthless and profligate who applied, and were refused assistance, were more contented and happy than the poor in the other parishes of Glasgow; I was also agreeably disappointed at finding that Dr Chalmers was not the only person having sufficient influence to obtain the aid of the respectable members of his congregation in administering the affairs of the poor. I had not the smallest difficulty in procuring a sufficient number of deacons for that purpose.

"You are aware, that in the month of November, 1825, I was appointed to another parish in this city, at that time under the old system; and although that sys-

tem was better administered in St Enoch's parish than it was perhaps in any other in similar circumstances, I could not fail to perceive its defects; and, therefore, with the concurrence of the kirk-session, a system in all essential points similar to that of St John's has been established. It has now been in operation for eight or nine months, and has hitherto succeeded to my utmost wishes. The assessment is the only thing that stands in my way; it chills both public and private charity; many of the wealthy members of my congregation do not hesitate to assign it as an apology for contributing sparingly to our church-door collections; and I fear that it has a pernicious influence on their habits of private charity; notwithstanding, we are confident of success.

"Wishing all success to those who would ward off from the *poor* of Ireland the dreadful influence of poor rates.

"I am, My Dear Sir, yours always sincerely,

"PATRICK M'FARLANE."

I have to state that we are under very peculiar disadvantages in these parishes, St Enoch's and St John's; because it has a paralyzing influence on the liberalities of the wealthy to our poor, that those wealthy are also brought in to support the expenditure of the general system in Glasgow, and it is extremely discouraging, that though we have cleared away the burden of a compulsory provision from the parish of St John's, yet the householders and the proprietors in that parish are just as much subject as before to assessment for the general expenses of the poor in the city.

135. Do you find that that burden which is cast upon them, not by reason of the necessities of their own parish, but by reason of the system prevailing in other parishes, has a tendency to check their benevolence within the parish of St John's?—I am perfectly sure that it has. As a specimen of the misconceptions to which we are exposed, and the extreme difficulty of convincing the public at large of the goodness of our system, although under it pauperism has been cleared away from certain portions of the territory of Glasgow, with-

out discharging it on the other parishes, as is established by the amount of the imports and exports in regard to the poor, yet it is in the power of the administrators of the compulsory system, in the assessed part of Glasgow, to keep up as before the whole burden of the assessment; or, without ascribing it to them at all, such is the inherent mischief that resides in the system of assessment, that it carries in it the principle of its own acceleration, inasmuch, that although confined within a narrower territory, it can keep up an equal burden as before, from which the inference made is, that this experiment of St John's is certainly not worth trying in other parishes, and has not proved successful, because the citizens find themselves as much burdened as ever for support of the poor; so that after having cleared away pauperism from St John's, and demonstrated the efficacy of the gratuitous system in that part of the territory where it has been permitted to operate, we are exposed to discredit and obloquy, and made responsible, because of the mischief of the compulsory system in other parts of Glasgow.

136. Having brought your evidence on the subject of the parish of St John's up to the date of the last letter in 1830, will you describe the district which is called the Barony of Glasgow, and the system which there prevails for the relief of the poor?—I believe the population of the Barony is now upwards of 60,000, it was about 50,000 when I left Glasgow. The principle of a legal assessment was introduced into that parish so late as 1810, and I have reason to know, very much against the opinion of the minister. Before that time the whole expense of maintaining the poor seldom exceeded L.600 a-year; about the year 1810, or to speak precisely, according to the census of 1811, the population was 37,216, an exclusively manufacturing population, with the exception of a country district belonging to it. I have lost sight of the Barony since 1817, which was seven years after the adoption of the method of assessment, but the burden increased nearly six times in the short space of seven years, the expenditure rising considerably above L.3,000.

137. Can you state the number of the poor at the time that the amount of relief under a voluntary system was only L.600, and the number of poor under the assessed system when it had augmented to L.3,000? —I am sorry that I am not furnished with the numbers, but I will procure them for the information of the Committee.

138. During those seven years were you able to estimate the effects of this increased expense upon the condition of the poor themselves?—I could say in the general, that abstracting from those fluctuations that proceed from other causes, such as the state of trade, there was no sensible improvement produced by the increase of this expenditure.

139. Were you able to trace whether there was so much sympathy or charity on the part of the higher classes, under the increase and progress of the assessment principle, as there had been under the system of voluntary contribution?—It is extremely difficult to take observation of that in individual instances; but the general effect all over Scotland of the introduction of the assessments has been to diminish the collections, which forms so far a palpable illustration of their ill effect.

140. Is there not another district in Glasgow which is called the Gorbals?—That is the southern suburb of Glasgow.

141. What is the population?—I believe now between 20,000 and 30,000, but at the time when I took an account of its expenditure, its population was upwards of 20,000.

142. Is that a manufacturing population?—Exclusively a manufacturing population.

143. Are there any causes in the actual condition of the population themselves, that would, under similar circumstances, make the condition of the population in the Gorbals better than that of the population of the Barony?—No: I should think rather worse; because there are no agricultural resources, whereas the Barony has a large country parish.

144. Is the assessment principle introduced into the

Gorbals?—Not that I am aware of; it was not introduced there very recently.

145. Can you state what is the voluntary contribution applied in the unassessed district of the Gorbals for the relief of the poor?—The whole expenditure was L.350.

146. Can you compare the state of the poor in the unassessed district of the Gorbals, with an expenditure of L.350, with the state of the assessed district of the Barony when the assessment had reached L.3000?—There is one very palpable test of the relative condition of the three districts, one of them being Glasgow proper, which occurred in 1817; there was an extraordinary expenditure of about L.10,000, raised by subscription, in order to meet the distress of the population, incurred by a very extraordinary depression that had taken place in trade. This subscription applied to all the three districts, and was distributed by a committee of management which sat in judgment on all the individual applications. The whole sum required for the extraordinary wants of 1817, in the Gorbals, was L.835.

147. What was the amount of extraordinary relief required for the Barony?—I have not the numerical statement by me, but the Barony required somewhat more than three times the money, whereas its population is only somewhat more than double but not nearly three times the population of the Gorbals.

148. Therefore the state of the population being nearly the same, or if there be a difference, the difference being against the Gorbals in this time of extraordinary relief, there was more relief required for the Barony than for the Gorbals, notwithstanding the increase of assessment in the one and the absence of assessment in the other?—Yes.

149. Can you state the entire amount of relief required for the poor of Glasgow, and the proportion of that relief which was taken for the Gorbals?—There was about L.10,000 expended on all the three districts, and only L.835 on the Gorbals. I cannot state with numerical precision the sum expended on Glasgow proper.

Its population was very little more than one-third of the population of the Gorbals, and the amount of relief which it required was somewhat more than seven times the sum which the Gorbals required, so that the disproportion between Glasgow and the Gorbals is much greater than the disproportion between the Barony and the Gorbals; that is, the district longest under assessment required the largest proportion, and the least proportion was required in the district that had not been under assessment at all.

150. Therefore the measure of assessment would seem almost a measure of the distress which remained to be relieved by extraordinary means?—Precisely so. I think it right to say, in regard to the present state of St John's, as justifying a reliance upon the result of our experiment, that there is in one respect a very great precariousness; for let two or three only of the agents relax their management by a very little, such is the inherent power of increase in all systems of public charity which are carelessly conducted, that it would be in the power even of these few to overset the experiment. The true doctrinal inference which may be drawn out of the past history of St. John's ought not to be affected by any thing future in the history of that parish, particularly when one adverts to the very great discouragements by which the parish is surrounded, as well as the great mischief which it is in the power even of a small fraction of the agency to bring upon the parish, by letting down the strictness of their administration. The discouragements are great indeed: the establishment of a new system always makes slow progress amongst practical men, insomuch that I have found it far easier practically to do the thing, than to convince men that the thing is practicable. There is a considerable feeling of hostility to this gratuitous method of relieving the poor. In reference to a question which was put two days ago, regarding the expenditure in the northern parishes of England under their best management, as being equal to the expenditure of the Scottish border parishes where assessments have been introduced under their worst management, the reason of that I ap-

prehend to be, the system of assessment has not had the same time to work in the border parishes that it has had in England. It appears to me a very prevalent delusion on the subject of our Scottish pauperism, that people are always looking for its benefits to our method of dispensation, or to the construction of our courts of supply; whereas I hold the benefit of the Scottish system to lie altogether in the reflex influence which a gratuitous economy of relief, with its moderate allowances, will always have upon the habits and expectations of a people. The English principle of a compulsory provision grafted on our Scottish machinery, may do as much mischief in the one country as has been done in the other.

151. Are there any other instances in Scotland of parishes that have been liable to a compulsory assessment, where that compulsory assessment, as in St John's, has been abandoned, and gone to the system you adopted there?—There are several parishes under what I call the retracing process: there is the parish of Dirlton, in the county of East Lothian; there has been an exceedingly good book written upon the subject by the clergyman, Mr Stark of Dirlton. The parish of Dumblane, a good many years ago, adopted the retracing system, and fully succeeded in it. There is another parish, in Berwickshire, but the name has escaped me. We cannot expect, however, that the attempt will often be made in the present state of the law.

152. Would you be of opinion that the retracing system might generally be adopted in Scotland?—I think with certainty of success; but that it ought to be commenced in a particular way, and if that be not attended to, the enterprise may be spoiled or put off for a considerable time. There are two distinct processes, both of which should be observed, when the object is to work a whole country out of its pauperism; there is the parochial process, and what I should be inclined to call the Parliamentary process, or the legal one. In as far as the parochial process is concerned, I would provide for the old cases that were actually upon the com-

pulsory fund out of that fund until they had died out, so that it would require several years before we got quit of the compulsory provision; I would meet, in the meanwhile, all the new applications with the money raised by collections, just as they do in any Scottish parish; what I should anticipate is, that before the collection is overtaken by the new cases, the old cases will have died out, and have disengaged the compulsory fund altogether, so as to bring the parish back again to the gratuitous economy that obtains generally in Scotland; but it appears to me that before this can be carried into effect, there must be an interposition on the part of Parliament, because it is at all times competent for a dissatisfied claimant, more especially if backed by any powerful enemies to the system in his neighbourhood, to bring the administrators to the bar of the court of session, and it is very unpleasant to be over-hung by any possibility of that sort, so that there would be a necessity for such a law as might protect every retracing parish from an appeal to the court of session, by making its kirk-session an ultimate court. Now, in going about to frame such a law, there is a most material distinction that, I think, should be proceeded on between the effect of a compulsory and that of a permissive law. Suppose that a bill were brought into Parliament making it imperative upon all the assessed parishes to adopt this system; those parishes are not yet prepared for the measure, they have not information nor conviction upon the subject, the consequence of which is, that there behoved to be a very strong and general opposition to such a law, wherever the compulsory assessment prevailed. Accordingly, we did experience this opposition in a recent attempt to reform Scottish pauperism; Glasgow and Edinburgh petitioned, and almost all the great towns, with many of the counties, petitioned against such a measure passing into a law; they would have had no interest in thus resisting it if it had been merely permissive, and the effect of such permission, I feel persuaded, would have been that we should have had so many trial parishes at this moment working themselves out of their compulsory pauperism, while

the more unmanageable and difficult parishes would have been standing by and waiting the result of the experiment. The success of those would awaken the attention of other parishes, and thus piece-meal, and by a successive process, the country may at length have been wholly delivered from its pauperism.

153. Is not the first step necessary, as far as legislative provision is required, a legislative declaration or enactment that would do away with the claim of right on the part of the pauper?—On the part of the parish that came forward with that degree of consent which might be specified in the public and general Act that was passed on the subject.

154. Then what you suggest is, that parishes, upon applications founded upon a certain degree of assent from the parish itself, should be freed from the necessity by compulsion of providing for the poor?—Quite so.

155. In Scotland, is the compulsory system upon the advance in the different parishes, or otherwise?—Upon the whole, it is on the advance.

156. It has sometimes been suggested, that however expedient or possible it may be to do without a compulsory provision of assessment in agricultural parishes, that such a system is absolutely necessary to meet the fluctuations which arise in manufacturing districts, and the alterations in the amount of wages; what is your opinion upon that subject?—It does not at all accord with my experience that a compulsory provision is more necessary in a manufacturing than in an agricultural parish; and I perceive one very great disadvantage arising from it in the former class of parishes; in a season of great depression, when wages fall as low as five shillings or six shillings a-week, those wages are supplemented by some small additional allowance of one shilling and sixpence perhaps, or two shillings a-week. This keeps the people at their professional work, which has the effect of keeping up the glut in the market, and so lengthening out those seasons of depression to which every manufacturing population is liable.

157. Does not the compulsory system also act upon

the habits of the poor during those periods when, in the fluctuation of wages, by increased demand and increased employment, wages become very high?—It acts, I think, by a very mischievous influence upon the habits of the poor during those periods, because it gives the feeling that they may be as reckless and extravagant as they like in good times, from having this to resort to in bad times.

158. Is that opinion supported by your observation of facts, as well as by your reasoning upon general principles?—I think it is supported by the observation of a good many facts; I remember in a season of great depression in Glasgow, the question was, whether the unemployed people, or the people who alleged themselves to be unemployed, should be supported by an additional allowance, or whether work at low wages should be held out to them, that would detach them from their professional employment; I strongly advocated the latter method, because I said that the former method just kept them at their looms, and kept up the glut in the market, and so perpetuated and aggravated the very evil that it was intended to remedy; whereas, if they withdrew so many of them from their professional work, and gave them any other, such as ground work upon the green of Glasgow, or the breaking of stones, it would be found much less expensive to defray the entire maintenance of all who offered themselves for this extra professional work, than to keep them all at their professional work at a fraction of the cost of their maintenance in the shape of a supplementary allowance; I think it is the uniform experience of manufacturing towns, that with the former method it is much easier to get over a season of depression than with the latter method. Now, with a poor rate in a manufacturing town, we have the whole disadvantage of the latter method, because we just supplement the defective wages, whereas, in a natural state of things, we have the advantage of the former method, by the people dispersing themselves and quitting for a season their professional work. Many of them, in these excursions, abandon the town, and find out for themselves

some employment in the country, which detaches them from their looms for a period. There was a very instructive survey, and pregnant with weightiest inference upon this subject, made by Mr Cleland of Glasgow, at a season of great depression; he took account of all the looms in Glasgow and its neighbourhood, for the purpose of ascertaining how many were unoccupied: the number of looms in operation in ordinary times was 18,537, but at this season he found only 13,281 at work, leaving 5,256 looms idle. This must have been a very wholesome cessation, the benefit of which is greatly impaired under a system of poor rate. In a natural state of things, there is a freer dispersion of people away from their professional employment; whereas there is an adhesive virtue in the poor rate, which keeps the people together, and so lengthens out every season of over-laden markets and low wages.

159. If the system of relief have a tendency to keep the persons engaged in manufacturing industry when the wages of labour and the profits of that manufacture are considerably diminished, has it not also the effect of diminishing the profits of the other persons engaged in that branch of industry, and of reducing them to the same distress in which the others have been involved? —There is no doubt of it, by its keeping up the glut in the market; and I have often seen the manufacturers of Glasgow very seriously embarrassed by the multitude of workmen that solicited employment from them.

160. What became of those 5,000 that were thrown out of work in Glasgow, at the period you have referred to?—It is exceedingly difficult to trace that, but there are a great many country and extraneous resources which people find out when the market is overstocked with the commodity which it is their business to prepare.

161. Did they remove at that time from their usual places of residence?—There was a very general temporary emigration from Glasgow at that time.

162. Do you consider that the compulsory system of relief has a tendency of raising or of lowering the rate

of wages?—Decidedly to lower the rate of wages. When wages are helped by the allowance system, they may be resolved into two ingredients; the one consisting of wages, and the other the sum given for the poor rate. I have no doubt that the whole recompense for labour, as made up of both ingredients, is lower than the whole recompense would have been in a natural state of things.

163. Comparing two countries in which the rate of wages is higher in the one than in the other, and a free intercourse of labour subsisting between them, if in one of those countries no compulsory system of wages prevails, and labour is cheap, and there is in consequence an emigration from that country to the other where labour is dear, do you conceive that the introduction of a poor's rate in the country where labour is cheap would have a tendency to increase the emigration or diminish it?—I think it would tend to increase the emigration.

164. That would result upon the principles you have described of lowering the rate of wages, and thereby increasing the difference between the rate of wages in the two countries?—Yes.

165. Would it not have this additional inducement to seek labour in the other country, that by the poor law there would be a provision made for the females and the children of the labourer who came to seek employment elsewhere?—Yes, and in that way discharge him from the necessity of remaining at home. It strikes me, that if it be proposed to establish the compulsory system in a country contiguous to our own, it may be done in different ways: if it be meant that it shall be divested of what has often been called the worst feature of the English pauperism, the allowance system, then I do not see how the emigration can be at all lessened, because if the poor's fund is only to be applied to the impotent and the aged, those are not the people to whom we are exposed; we have still as large a body as ever of able and healthy men coming over, who are discharged, in fact, from the necessity of remaining at home, and who will therefore come over in greater numbers: if, on the other hand, it be proposed to esta-

blish in the other country the English system in all its entireness, granting an allowance to able-bodied labourers as well as to the others, then if this extends only to a part of the able-bodied labourers of the land, the sure effect will be the general reduction of wages throughout the whole body, so that the part not having the benefit of those allowances will be under a much stronger necessity than before to come to this country; or lastly, if in order to meet this, it be proposed to extend allowances to able-bodied labourers to the population *en masse*, this, without after all accomplishing the object of lessening emigration, would lead the country into such an expense as would be tantamount to a sentence of extinction upon its landed property.

166. Reverting to your former evidence, if it had a tendency to lower the rate of wages, even independently of those consequences to which you have last adverted, must it not increase the tendency of cheap labour to seek a higher market?—Decidedly.

167. Do you consider that the questions you have answered in the abstract would apply to the condition of things existing between England and Ireland?—I certainly do; I think it descriptive of the relative condition of the two countries.

168. You have stated the effect which you consider the assessment principle produces upon the rate of wages; what effect do you think it produces upon the general prices of the necessaries of life?—I am not sure that it would affect the price of the first necessaries of life; but whatever effect be produced on the price of the first necessaries of life, and from whatever cause, it brings another element into operation, which at length makes the real wages of labour very much what it was originally.

169. The question was limited to the first and immediate effect of any such artificial supply; and to make it clearer, will you have the goodness to advert to the state of Glasgow in 1817, in which there was an extra relief to the extent of L.10,000 given in the city of Glasgow; taking that relief to consist either of assessment or grant, what effect do you conceive was produced

by that assessment, or the expenditure consequent upon it, upon the price of bread?—I think, as far as it went, it would raise the price of bread.

170. Although ultimately by creating a greater demand it would have a tendency to produce a greater supply, and thereby diminish the price of bread, must not the first effect of it be to raise the price of bread?—I think so.

171. Therefore, unless the assessment was sufficient to cover a rise of price, in the general rise of price the poor would suffer more than they would receive relief from the assessment?—Yes; and it is a suffering that would extend itself to those who had not received the benefit of the assessment; so that it appears to me that in that way there is a transference of distress made from the class that receive, to those who are immediately above them and that do not receive.

172. Must not that transference have a tendency to augment the number of paupers?—Decidedly.

173. Supposing relief in distress to be given by employment, what effect do you conceive it would produce upon the free industry of persons not receiving that relief, and upon the natural application of capital?—I think it must be injurious, if it be proposed to give relief through the medium of work, and if this be a work that a certain population are already engaged in, than by bringing down the price of their commodity, it must operate to the prejudice of the free labourers.

174. Supposing in a population of 10,000 weavers, 2,000 of those weavers being thrown out of employment, are employed in weaving in a public establishment for the relief of distress, does not that produce, in addition to the general lowering of prices, a principle of competition not founded upon the principles of profit, but founded upon the hope of benefit and of charity, which must derange the ordinary operations of industry on the part of the 8,000 weavers who would otherwise be employed?—I certainly think so; it must lessen their wages, and also lessen, if not destroy the profits of the capitalist.

175. Under ordinary principles of employing capital,

is not every man protected from any competition, except in very peculiar cases, in which the competitor does not receive a fair return for the capital he employs? —He is protected from competition in so far as traders will be restrained from embarking more capital in a business which they think is on the eve of being overdone.

176. Is not the operation of this protective principle obstructed if labourers are employed for charitable purposes only?—I do think so; and it has all the mischief of a bounty confined to one set and not enjoyed by another.

177. Such being the difficulty if relief is granted in the way of employment, what would be the effect of its being granted in money without employment?—It would act in the first instance as a stimulus to population.

178. How would it act upon industry?—I think it would tend to slacken industry.

179. If relief be given in proportion to the number of children, what would be the consequences that you would calculate upon?—I think it is quite clear that that must operate as a bounty upon population, and so aggravate the general distress of the country.

180. Do you consider that any correction of the administration of the principle of assessment can correct the evils you have described as being incident to the system itself?—I do not think that any improvement in the method of administration can make head against the essential and inherent evil of the principle.

181. Should you apply the same observation with respect to the evils of assessment to a country not in a high state of civilization, that you would apply to a country in the condition of Great Britain?—I think that if the principle of assessment for the relief of poverty be introduced, it will deteriorate the condition of any country.

182. You think that if it were applied to the condition of the least improved of the European countries, it would have a tendency to lower the condition of that country?—I certainly think that it would.

183. Supposing the retracing system which you have

described followed, do you conceive there would be a danger of increased suffering, if, after due preparation by that retracing process, the power of compulsory assessment were altogether withdrawn?—I am quite satisfied that upon the abolition of the compulsory system, there would ensue a full compensation to the people for the whole amount that had been withdrawn from them in consequence of that abolition. I feel convinced that the augmented industry and economy of the people would prevent more than one-half of the poverty that is now relieved under the compulsory system; then, that the relative affections, restored to natural and proper strength, would do more than provide for the half of what remained; then, that the kindness of the poor one for another, no longer diverted from its natural exercise by the prospect of relief *ab extra*, would set a-going a busy process of internal charity that would nearly overtake the last remainder, and leave the rich less of unrelieved distress to contend with under a natural system than they have at present under the compulsory.

184. Are you of opinion that that could be accomplished in England, where the population is supposed to be so redundant?—Yes, I think it is capable of being accomplished in England, provided the two processes are strictly attended to, that I have already adverted to.

185. Taking into consideration the present state of the poor laws in England, under which the people have been so long accustomed to receive relief, are you still of that opinion?—Yes; because the first process, or the parochial one, supposes that all the existing cases are to be provided for as they are at present, and thus makes the work a very gradual one in reference to the families of a parish; and the second process makes it a gradual work in reference to the parishes of the country, because each parish is left to adopt it under certain specified conditions, just as each parish encloses its own commons under certain specified conditions, so going on, not simultaneously, but successively.

186. How are the Committee to understand that you consider the compulsory system to have the tendency of

increasing the number of persons requiring relief, and at the same time giving an amount of relief which is less than the relief that would be afforded from private sources, and thereby having a diminished means of relief to apply to a greater number of cases of distress? —I think that under the compulsory system of England there is a greater surplus of unrelieved suffering than there would be under the natural system; and that this unrelieved suffering under the natural system would meet with securities for its being relieved, which the compulsory system has the effect of diminishing, if not of extinguishing altogether.

187. Does that relief principally depend upon the kindly feelings of the neighbourhood, which you have described to operate in Scotland?—The efficacy of the natural system lies more in prevention than relief, and altogether depends, first, on the improved habits of industry and economy among the population; second, on the increased exercise that would be given to the relative affections; third, on that mutual kindness which obtains between the poor in the same neighbourhood; and both last and least, on the stimulated liberalities of the rich.

188. In order to make that source of relief effectual, must there not be a general disposition to voluntary contribution among the people?—After the experience I have had in St John's, I count less on the disposition to voluntary contributions than I at one time thought would be necessary. I now feel that a very small fund might suffice to meet the new applications, and that the success of a retracing process depends more upon its reflex influence on the habits of the people themselves than on the sum raised by collection.

189. Do you conceive that even the alms and the collections of the kirk-session themselves, laying out of consideration altogether the question of compulsory assessment, are more productive of benefit in relieving distress than they may be productive of evil, upon the principles you have laid down, by exciting expectation among the poor?—I think there is a distinction to be made between what may be called the economic influ-

ences of our Scottish voluntary system, and its moral influences. In as far as the economic influences go, they may, to a certain degree, be productive of evil. Even our public charity does induce a certain degree of dependence on the part of the families, and that dependence outruns the power of the kirk-session to relieve their wants, so as to cause a relaxation which outstrips somewhat the amount of relief; but although I do not hold the parochial charity of Scotland to be productive of any good, but rather to a slight degree of the contrary, economically speaking, yet I feel desirous of its being kept up on several accounts; first, it may be furnished with safe and salutary absorbents in directing its means to the relief of disease, in providing for the deaf and dumb, and for lunatics, and for all who are better cared for at public institutions than they could be at their own houses; secondly, our parochial charity does provide an occasion of intercourse between the very poorest of our people and the elders of the parish, so as to secure that their cases shall be more extensively known, and in that way opening upon them to a greater extent relief from private sources. Again, from the small proportion of our paupers to the whole population, a man never enters into the situation of a regular pauper without making a noticeable descent below the level of the plebeian community. To save him from this, both his own energies and the feelings of his relatives and friends are brought vigorously into play. Lastly, I have adverted to another influence that runs along the margin of our poverty: the great mass of our people in the unassessed parishes contribute their halfpennies at the Sunday collection, and they have persevered in this habit for years. Now, in virtue of this habit, the transition would be felt the more painful to the state of being receivers, so that the moral distance of our families from pauperism is widened by this operation, and the moral barrier is strengthened in the way of their entering within the verge of pauperism; but in as far as the mere economical good to the people by relief, coming out of the positive distributions of the kirk-session is concerned, I would say, that upon

the whole it is productive of no advantage to the Scottish population.

190. Do you consider that there is any practical difference between the administration of funds raised by assessment for relief, and the administration of equal funds produced by voluntary contributions, or the gifts of private charity?—I think that the feeling of right, associated with the former, produces a very important practical difference in favour of the voluntary fund. But I further think, that there is mischief in any public or conspicuous organization got up for the relief of want. In several parishes of Scotland there is a voluntary association, which contributes something over and above the collection at the church doors, and to the sum thus raised they give a different title from that of an assessment. This certainly is less hurtful than a distribution to the same amount when raised by assessment, but much more hurtful than the same sum when distributed unseen and by private individuals.

191. Comparing the administration of two funds of equal amount, in a population of equal distress, do you not consider that the good done will be in proportion to the moral discrimination with which that relief is given?—Undoubtedly.

192. From your comparison of the administration of funds raised by assessment with the administration of funds raised by voluntary contribution, do you conceive that an equal reliance can be placed upon the moral discrimination with which the one class of resources are administered and the other?—I think there is much greater moral discrimination by the administrators of the voluntary fund than by the administrators of the other, but that there is a still greater moral discrimination by individuals, more especially when their charity is given within the spheres of their respective acquaintanceship, which is the direction, I believe, it generally takes.

193. Will not the managers of a voluntary fund distribute it with more discrimination and frugality than the managers of a compulsory fund?—I think so.

194. Do you consider that the distress of any given

number of labourers may be resolved into the proportion existing between the number of those labourers and the power of employing capital productively in the employment of those labourers?—Yes; I think that upon these two elements the state of the labourer depends.

195. Do you consider that a compulsory assessment has a tendency either to increase the capital or the means of employing it productively, or to diminish the supply of labour?—I think it has no tendency either to increase the capital or to decrease the supply of labour; on the contrary, to increase the supply of labour, and therefore to aggravate the distress.

196. Do you consider that capital raised by assessment and employed in labour, will be employed as profitably as if that capital were left to seek its natural employment with a view to profit?—I conceive it will be employed much more profitably in the latter way.

197. Then the assessment only making a new appropriation of the capital, and not creating any capital, or augmenting the means of employing it profitably, but tending to diminish those means, must it not have a further influence in lowering the condition of the poor themselves?—I certainly think so.

198. Do you conceive there is any mode of employing a compulsory assessment which could have the effect of raising the wages of labour?—I certainly do not see any, but think the effect would be all the other way.

199. In those states of transition which occur in the passing from one mode of life to another, as for example in early times, from hunting to pastoral life, or from agricultural to manufacturing, or from the hand manufacture to manufacture carried on by machinery, do you conceive that compulsory assessment may be necessary to carry the bulk of the population through the peculiar pressure of distress in the transition state?—I should think that any temporary distress consequent upon such a transition, if necessary to be met at all, should be met by temporary expedients, and that if met by the establishment of a poor law, it would only tend to perpetuate evils which might otherwise have soon passed away.

200. Those processes which have been alluded to, although productive of temporary suffering, having a general and ultimate tendency to good, would not the application of a compulsory system of relief disturb and impede them, and thereby impede the general good which may be ultimately produced?—I certainly think so.

201. Where those cases are of frequent recurrence, would not the application of temporary expedients to each of them induce the necessity of some permanent mode, such as a poor law, of meeting those cases?—My experience of the operation of all those temporary expedients is, that they are more called for in those places where the assessment has been acted on, than in those places where there is no assessment, so that the pressure to which a country is exposed periodically from certain fluctuations in its state, is a pressure that will be felt with greater severity in an assessed than in an unassessed district.

202. Therefore, if those temporary expedients led to the introduction of a permanent assessment, you consider that the necessity of recurrence to extraordinary systems of relief would be more frequent under the assessment system than under the unassessed system?—I certainly think so.

203. Have you turned your attention to the existing state of things in Ireland?—In a general way, I have; I must confess my ignorance of Ireland, in as far as a very minute and statistical acquaintance with the condition of its people is concerned.

204. Have you been in Ireland?—I have been in Ireland, but not in that part of it which is peculiarly or characteristically Irish. I have only been in the north of Ireland, and that only for a week.

205. From the attention you have been able to give to the condition of Ireland, in the course of your observation and study, do you conceive that there exist, in that country, any difficulties to prevent the application of your general principles to Ireland?—Though not minutely or statistically acquainted with Ireland, I have great faith in the identity of human nature all the world

over, and certainly my general convictions on the subject of pauperism refer as much to Ireland as to any other country.

206. It would appear from the evidence taken before this Committee, that many of the agricultural districts of Ireland are now in what may be called a transition state, and that there is a tendency in altering the system of managing lands, to consolidate farms, and to unite together small farms of five or ten acres, into large farms of thirty and forty acres, the small cottagers passing into the state of labourers, which change seems to be productive of pressure upon the population; do you consider that those circumstances would render the introduction of any principle of assessment advisable or necessary?—The introduction of the principle of assessment would just have the same effect upon the population now about to leave their farms, that it has upon operative manufacturers in a season of depression; it would keep them together, and subject the parishes permanently to the evil resulting from a redundant population, and prevent that natural distribution of the people which is best adapted to the new state of things.

207. The population of Ireland being chiefly potato fed, which is a crop attended with great fluctuations and casualties, do you consider that those fluctuations and casualties would render a system of compulsory relief advisable?—Quite the reverse.

208. In what respect do you consider the assessment principle would be productive of evil under such circumstances?—I think it would just add to the recklessness and improvidence of the people, and so land the country in a still greater population without increased means of maintaining them. If I may be permitted, I will advert to a principle, which I think may be called the pervading fallacy in the speculations of those who advocate the establishment of a poor rate in Ireland, and is founded on the observation of a connexion between a high state of character and a high state of economic comfort; it is quite palpable that so it is in fact; but there seems to be an important mistake in the order of causation. It is often conceived that comfort

is the cause, and character is the effect; now I hold that character is the cause, and that comfort is the effect. It does not appear that if you lay hold of a man thirty or forty years old, with his inveterate habits, and improve his economic condition, by giving him, through a poor rate or otherwise, L.3 or L.4 a-year more, it does not appear to me that this man will be translated thereby into other habits, or higher tastes, but he will dissipate it generally in the same reckless and sordid kind of indulgence to which he had been previously accustomed: whereas, if instead of taking hold of the man, and attempting to elevate him by the improvement of his economic condition, you take hold of the boy, and attempt to infuse into him the other element, which I conceive to be the causal one, by means of education, then you will, through the medium of character, work out an improvement in his economic condition. What I should advise is, that education be made universal in Ireland, and that you should weather for a season the annoyance of Ireland's mendicity, and the annoyance of that pressure which I conceive to be altogether temporary. This appears to me the only principle upon which Ireland can be securely and effectually brought to a higher standard of enjoyment, and into the state of a well-habited and well-conditioned peasantry. I think that if patiently waited for, very great results might be looked for ere another generation pass away; but then the establishment of a poor law would throw a very heavy obstruction indeed on that educational process, to which alone I look for a permanent improvement in the state of Ireland.

209. You have stated that you conceive the tendency of the principle of assessment would be to increase population, and to create or to increase habits of improvidence, and inconsiderate marriages; now, if it is shown that in Ireland the population has increased more rapidly, and that greater improvidence exists than in Britain, how would you reconcile those two statements, your statement of principle and this statement of fact? —I am quite sensible of the effect which this complication of the problem has had in casting what may be

called a general obscuration over it. If the only element upon which the standard of enjoyment depended was a poor rate, and if, in point of fact, we saw in a country where a poor rate was established a much higher standard of enjoyment than in a country where there was no poor rate, the inference would be a very fair one; establish the poor rate there, and we shall bring the people up to a higher standard. But the whole matter is mixed and complicated with other influences; there are other elements than the poor rate which enter into the question of a nation's prosperity, and have a deciding influence on the taste and condition of the people. The low standard of enjoyment in Ireland is attributable not to the want of a poor rate, but to other causes—to misgovernment, and to imperfect education. On the other hand, there has been a gradual elevation of the people of England, keeping pace with its commerce, its growth in general opulence, its pure administration of justice. The better condition of its people, is no more due to its poor rate than it is to its national debt. Its high standard of enjoyment is not in consequence of its poor rate, but in spite of its poor rate. I believe that had there been no poor rate in England there would have been a higher standard of enjoyment than there is now; and, on the other hand, that if there had been a poor rate in Ireland there would have been a lower standard of enjoyment there than there is at present. In a word, had the condition of the two countries with reference to the single circumstance of a poor rate been reversed, there would have been a still wider difference between them in favour of England, and against Ireland, than there is at this moment.

210. You conceive that if you were to add to the causes which have tended to increase rapidly the population of Ireland, and to produce improvidence and recklessness on the part of the people, an additional cause tending in the same direction, namely, the establishment of a poor rate, you conceive the evils already existing would be very much augmented?—They would. If it is intended to introduce the system of poor rate

into Ireland with a view of elevating the standard of enjoyment, or elevating the general condition of the families of Ireland, this is an aim far different from the ordinary purpose of a poor rate. The aim of the present system of poor rate is to rescue a fraction of the people from extreme wretchedness; but should it aim at the still more magnificent object of raising the general population above the level and the rate of its present enjoyments, the very expense of such an achievement extending to a million families in Ireland, would seem to fasten upon the scheme the charge of being utterly impracticable, besides utterly failing in its object, for that is really not the way of raising a people to higher tastes and habits of enjoyment.

211. Do you not consider that the improvidence of the people, and their recklessness in consequence of the increase of their numbers, will be found in a direct proportion to their misery and degradation, provided the misery is not of that cast which immediately affects human life?—I think that the causal and antecedent influence in the whole matter is a moral one. The people are in an uneducated state, with perhaps no great infusion of Christian principle in their minds; it is this which produces misery and a low economic condition, and if brought out of this by direct educational means, it will operate favourably upon their providential habits so as to restrain the tendency of the country to overpopulation.

212. Do you conceive that that good effect which you have suggested can be produced by an unnatural diversion of capital in the shape of a tax paid by one and received by another?—Quite the contrary.

213. Are you not of opinion, that religious instruction and religious habits are mainly conducive to the contentment of the peasantry with their lot?—They form, I think, the highway to a people's economic prosperity in every respect; but may I be permitted to say here, that there are different kinds of education.

214. In what country should you state the standard of enjoyment of the labouring classes to be higher than in Great Britain?—I am not well acquainted with the gen-

eral state of other countries; I should suppose that in America the standard of enjoyment may be higher, for which there is a very palpable reason. But as if to prove that this depends not on mere physical abundance, there is also a very high standard of enjoyment in Norway. I have been told that the appearance of the peasantry in the Florentine state of Italy indicates a very high standard of enjoyment.

215. Do you know in those countries whether any and what provision is made for the poor?—I am not sufficiently informed for replying immediately to that question.

216. In those parts of Great Britain with which you are acquainted, have you found that the standard of enjoyment rises in proportion as the principle of assessment is more or less introduced?—I think that the resulting effect of the standard of enjoyment is so much due to other causes besides the poor rate, that I would not infer any thing in favour of a poor rate, though I perceived a low standard of enjoyment where it was wanting, or a high standard of enjoyment where it was established. In connexion with the standard of enjoyment, I would advert to that education of habits which has been going on for centuries in England. Its commerce and civilization have insensibly, in the course of generations, wrought up, as it were, a high standard of enjoyment among the people. The peasantry of Ireland has not had this advantage, and neither has Scotland had it in such a degree, but the high standard of enjoyment in the latter country was brought on almost *per saltum* by a prodigiously superior kind of education to that of habits, I mean the education of principle.

217. When you speak of the standard of enjoyment, do you mean the enjoyment of something like a degree of luxury, or do you mix with it the principle of happiness?—No; in any economical reasonings I would not speak of happiness, because I can understand that from the mere natural advantages of a country; a peasant may have greater happiness, although he has less of means over and above the mere absolute necessaries of life. I would estimate the standard of enjoyment

by that which remains to the peasant over and above the absolute necessaries of life for the purchase of other things. Now, an English traveller coming into Scotland will have an unfair idea of our standard of enjoyment from a mere cursory glance he casts upon the people. He finds them walking bare-footed, and perhaps not so respectably clothed as the English peasantry are; and that the general aspect of his house as to furniture is more slovenly than in England. But on examining the items of his expenditure, it will be found not only that decent Sabbath attire, but the education of children, and often the seat rent of church or chapel enter into his system of family economics. Taking those circumstances into account, it will be found that the standard of enjoyment is much higher among the Scottish peasantry than at first sight it appears to be.

218. In those particular instances which have come within your observation, where the compulsory assessment has been withdrawn, and the poor have been supported by voluntary contribution, was the standard of enjoyment reduced by that change?—Certainly not reduced.

219. You have stated in a former part of your evidence that the effect of the assessment principle is not to be measured by the money raised and expended, but by the hope excited in the minds of those who apply for relief; now if there be a principle of assessment which is indefinite, and which creates a right in any applicant to receive relief, must not the mischief also be indefinite and unbounded?—Quite so; it makes the expectation indefinite, and will sink indefinitely the standard of enjoyment. On the subject of different standards among different people, I beg leave to state an anecdote, which is somewhat illustrative of the different habits of our two populations, the Irish and the Scotch. A Scotchman and an Irishman, in Glasgow, had got into converse, and were comparing notes with each other about their modes of living: the Scotchman, with a curiosity characteristic of his nation, asked the Irishman what he took to breakfast, the answer was, potatoes; he next asked what he took to dinner, it was the

same answer, potatoes; he finally asked him what he took to supper, there was still the same unvarying answer, potatoes. The Scotchman could not altogether comprehend the mystery of such diet and regimen, and to be further resolved, asked if he took kitchen to his potatoes. Perhaps it may be necessary to explain that term. With our Scottish peasantry, the substratum of the meal is either potatoes or bread; and if there be any thing wherewith to season it in the shape of butter or cheese, or any coarse preparation of animal food, this, in the humble nomenclature of our poor is called kitchen. Now, the hero of our narrative had none of all these things, and so, when questioned by the Scotchman, whether he had any kitchen to his potatoes, he, at no loss for a reply, and determined not to be outdone, said, that he made the big potatoes kitchen to the little ones. Now, to meet the question in the terms of this anecdote, whether the people will be raised to a higher condition by improving their moral character through the medium of their comfort, or improving their comfort through the medium of character, my own opinion is, that it is not by giving kitchen to the potatoes that you will moralize the men; but that if you educate and enlighten the boys, another generation will not pass away ere the universal habit of Ireland be the use of kitchen to their potatoes.

220. Do you think the effect would be the same if the kitchen were acquired by the man as the result of his own industry, as it would be if the kitchen were obtained by a tax upon others?—Certainly not; the kitchen being supplied by his own industry is the result of higher principles in the man, which principles would abide with him.

221. Have you seen any difference of habits between such of the poor in Scotland as have not acquired settlements, and those who have acquired settlements?—In as far as a settlement in an unassessed parish is concerned, the advantage is so very small, that it does not operate sensibly.

222. In an assessed parish, do you conceive there would be any difference of habits among the people,

between those who had acquired settlements, and those who had not?—I have not had personal observation upon the subject, but I have been informed upon good authority that there are instances in England of people who have lost, and irrecoverably lost, all benefit from the poor rate, in consequence of their having no settlement, and that the habits of those people are of a higher kind, and their state of comfort greater than those who have the benefit of the poor rate.

223. Did you pay any attention to the time of residence of your parishioners in those parishes where the contributions were voluntary?—Yes, it is always an object, because our fund is small, and we are very willing to protect ourselves; there is a positive law upon the subject, that three years' residence gives a settlement.

224. Are you aware that the persons you have described to be without a settlement, claim relief in England as casual poor?—I am not sufficiently acquainted with all the varieties of the practice in England; the people to whom I alluded as being without a settlement, make no claim to any sort of relief; they would rather remain than be removed, and in consequence of depending wholly on their own resources, are observed to be of superior habits to those around them.

225. You stated in your former evidence that one-third of the relief given out of the fund in the parish of St John was appropriated to the relief of Irish paupers?—That applied only to the eastern district of St John's, which comprehends about one-half of the population, and it is the poorer half, and the half in which the Irish are more numerous.

226. What proportion do the Irish population in that district bear to the Scottish population?—I endeavoured to ascertain that before I came here, but I was not able to make it out.

227. Laying out of sight the objections you have stated to any general principle of compulsory assessment, do you not conceive that there are certain classes of misery and distress for which relief may be safely afforded, and which, if safely to be afforded, ought to

be afforded?—I think there is a very great distinction between cases of general indigence and certain other cases of distress, which may be relieved with all safety.

228. What would be the distinction in general principle that you would lay down between the two classes of cases?—I would say that all those cases of hopeless and irrecoverable disease, or even those cases of disease which are better managed in public institutions than in private families, ought to be provided for with the utmost liberality.

229. Do you not conceive that all cases of misery, the relief of which has no tendency to increase the number of cases requiring relief, may be safely provided for?—I think they may be provided for with all safety.

230. Would not cases of insanity, and cases of loss of sight and loss of limb, come under the latter description?—Decidedly. Deaf and dumb asylums, lunatic asylums, institutions for the blind, infirmaries, and even fever hospitals might be supported to the uttermost on public funds. It is the more desirable a right direction should be given to public charity, and in particular to the charities of the rich; that, generally speaking, the upper classes have a great desire to do good if they knew but how to do it. There is one way in which *ostensible* relief, whether through the medium of an assessment or from the hands of the wealthy, might scatter on every side the elements of moral deterioration, and that is when the object is general indigence. There is another way in which public and visible charity might prove of permanent benefit to society, both for the relief of suffering and the increase of virtue among men; such as the support of institutions for the cure or alleviation of disease, and for education.

231. Do you not conceive that provision might be made at the public expense for all those cases of calamity which are so entirely contingent that no foresight or previous calculation could be made to prevent their occurrence, or to provide for them when they do occur?—I think that institutions ought to be provided for all those cases.

232. Do you see any objection to an enlarged liberal

provision for the relief of the sick poor, in the way of distribution of medicines and dispensaries?—I would object to any legal relief of the poor in their own houses. I would not object to dispensaries, the object of which is medicine; but all that kind of household distress which falls in the way of the ordinary experience of families, I think should be left to be provided for by the families themselves, or by private charity.

233. Would you include, under the class of human misery which may be safely provided for, those cases of extreme weakness and destitution of old age which may be equally afflicting with bodily disease?—I think that old age is so much the general lot of human nature that it would strike too much into the providential habits of the poor to make any thing like a regular and systematic provision for it.

234. If any such provision were made, might it not also operate injuriously upon the filial habits and duties of the young?—Yes; I think it would tend to undermine the virtue of filial piety.

235. Amongst the establishments for which a safe provision might be made, would you include foundling hospitals, or any asylums for deserted children?—I consider that that would be just a direct encouragement to immorality; I know not a single instance of a deserted family in an unassessed parish in Scotland. There were three or four such instances occurred in my own parish in Glasgow, when I was there; whereas I have often seen whole columns in the English newspapers, for example at Manchester, filled up with advertisements of runaway husbands.

236. Have you known any instances of it in assessed parishes in Scotland?—Yes, in towns.

237. Do you not consider that to be very much peculiar to the manufacturing districts?—I think it is altogether owing to the feeling that the family will be provided for.

238. Is the reputed father in Scotland called upon to maintain his illegitimate child?—He is; and there is a very remarkable testimony from one of our border parishes upon this subject. The Rev. Mr Morgan,

minister of Graitney, a parish contiguous to England, and separated from it only by a small stream, wrote me some years ago, that "to females, who bring illegitimate children into the world, we give nothing. They are left entirely to their own resources. It is, however, a remarkable fact, that children of this description with us are more tenderly brought up, better educated, and, of course, more respectable, and more useful members of society than illegitimates on the other side of the Sark, who, in a great many instances, are brought up solely at the expense of the parishes."

239. May the cases which do prevail of infanticide, and the more numerous cases of convictions of females for the concealment of the birth of their children, afford a sufficient justification for the establishment of foundling hospitals, or a provision by law for deserted children?—It is certainly painful to contemplate even one case of infanticide; but I have no doubt that the wretchedness and the vices of society would be greatly augmented by the institution of a regular provision for illegitimate or deserted children.

240. Do you think the dangers to society on the whole would be greater in holding out what might be considered a bounty on the desertion of children, than any good which might be produced by preventing cases of infanticide, even if that good were to be attained?—I think it would be decidedly better for society that there should be no provision of the kind.

241. You would rely on the general feelings of human nature as a protection?—Yes, I would; and I hold it greatly better to trust human nature in this particular, than to thwart and interfere with her.

242. With respect to asylums for orphans, do you think they would come under the class of institutions for which you conceive a provision might be made?—I would hesitate more about an institution for orphans than the other institutions that have been mentioned; but still I am persuaded that orphans fare better on the whole in virtue of being left to the sympathy of their more distant relatives, and afterwards to the spontaneous patronage which their situation procures for them

in society. This is, perhaps, the most ambiguous of the cases that have been proposed; but, on the whole, I should feel inclined to decide against such an institution. There is a very delightful piece of information that I got upon this subject no earlier than yesterday, an experience with regard to Spitalfields:—"At the time of the severe distress in Spitalfields in 1816, they obtained, by application to Government, a quantity of stores, blankets, great-coats, &c., &c., among the rest a quantity of children's shoes: it was determined to give these to the most distressed children in the various schools, and upon examination it was found that in the schools of Spitalfields and its vicinity, there were more than seventy orphans who, upon the death of their parents, had been taken into their houses by the poor, and had been supported by them." Upon the whole of this subject I would say, that I think there is a great deal of sound political economy in the New Testament, and that a lesson upon this very matter may be derived from the example of our Saviour. On two occasions, when the multitude were overtaken by hunger, he brought down food by miracle. It is quite evident that had this been his system it would have disorganized the whole of Judea, and the population would have run in multitudes after him for the purpose of being fed; and accordingly the third time he was applied to, he detected the sordid principle upon which they ran after him, and said, "You have come to me, not to see the miracles but to eat of the loaves and be filled," and instead of performing the miracle again, he put them off with a moral and spiritual advice. Now this stands remarkably contrasted with his example in reference to cases of disease. We do not read a single instance of his having sent a diseased petitioner uncured or disappointed away from him; and we read often when they brought the lame and the lunatic, and the impotent folk, to be cured by him, of his looking at them, and having compassion on them and healing them all. Now his doings had all the eclat in them of a public charity, so that had he brought down food indefinitely by miracle, it would have disorganized and put into disorder the

whole population; but no such effect would arise though he brought down health indefinitely by miracle. Every cure diminishes the amount of disease, whereas every individual act of relief does not diminish the amount of poverty. The will is upon the side of that indolence and dissipation which lead to poverty, so that the poverty will be indefinitely multiplied with the public provision that is made for it. But we shall never enlist the human will on the side of disease by all we can do for its relief. No man will break a limb for the benefit of a skilful amputation in an infirmary. We have a guarantee in the feelings of our sentient economy against any mischief being done, by providing indefinitely for the cure of disease; whereas we have no such guarantee, but the opposite, in devising any thing like public measures for the relief of general indigence.

243. You stated that there had been a great number of Irish in Glasgow, what effect has that had upon the Scotch poor with whom they have mixed?—I think upon the whole a deteriorating effect. Yet I must say I liked the Irish part of my parishioners. They received me always with the utmost cordiality, and very often attended my household ministrations, although Catholics.

244. Are you aware that the parishes in Scotland have ever endeavoured to prevent a settlement being gained by three years' residence, by turning them out?—That can be done, I understand, by a form of legal warning, without removal; and even when the paupers of another parish reside with us, we do not incur the expense of removing them, but treat them as we should our own poor, and by drawing upon the kirk-session of the parish where they have their settlement, we get compensation for all our outgoings.

245. Must not the residence be an industrious one in order to entitle the person to a settlement?—Yes, an industrious residence of three years.

246. Are you not of opinion that in Ireland, where the average of wages may be about eight pence a-day, if there was a compulsory assessment the population

would very soon consider themselves entitled to claim relief, according to the standard that they found observed in giving relief to a similar class in this country? —I think it is very likely they would.

247. Then if that was likely to be the case in Ireland, where the wages average no more than eight pence a-day, would not the effect be to throw almost the whole labouring population of the country as claimants upon the poor rate?—Certainly.

248. The Committee, inferring from your evidence that you place no reliance upon the system of compulsory assessment for the improvement of the condition of the poor; are there any other causes, or any other agencies which can be employed, which in your mind are calculated to raise and to improve their condition? —I think the main cause for bringing the people into a better economical state is their Christian education, and by the establishment of schools well conducted, I should look hopefully to a better state of things in Ireland: I am led to this by the experience of Scotland. All the other causes of amelioration which I have ever heard of I esteem to be of such subordinate importance, that they are nearly absorbed in what I conceive to be the main cause, that of bringing the people into a better moral state.

249. Do you not conceive that the removal of all obstacles which check or fetter industry, or all obstacles which prevent the accumulation of capital, of themselves of very minor importance, and subordinate to moral causes, are yet matters which it would be the duty of the Committee and of the Legislature to attend to?—I am not sanguine of a great result from either of those causes. It appears to me that there is a natural limit to the extension of trade; monopolies and other restraints do impose an artificial limit on the extension of our commerce and manufactures, which lies a certain but very little way within the natural limit. One great cause, I apprehend, of the commercial distress that took place some years ago, was the over-sanguine anticipation of an indefinite career for commercial enterprise, upon the removal of certain fetters which had

before lain upon it, in consequence of which there was a great over-trading, and speculators came much sooner into contact with the natural limit than they at all anticipated.

250. Having stated in a former part of your evidence that what regulated the actual condition of the poor, independently of the moral causes, is the proportion that exists between the numbers of the people, and the means of employing capital productively in labour; are there not causes that will act upon the one or the other of those two principles?—I am disposed to count a great deal more on those moral causes which affect the number of labourers, than on the causes which affect capital as a means of employing them; capital does not admit of indefinite accumulation, and may press as inconveniently, in virtue of its excess, upon the business of the country, as the population does upon the food of a country; if capital go beyond that excess, then it is necessarily wasted in losing speculations. I would not count, therefore, so much upon the extension of capital as political economists generally do for additional employment to the people.

251. What would you say with respect to the second principle, which is coupled with the extent of capital, namely, the means of employing it productively?—With respect to the means of employing it productively, or in other words, so as that the capital shall be returned with a profit, this is not a thing which we have the indefinite command of. In virtue of additional capital embarked in the preparation of certain commodities, the market may be so glutted that the capital shall be completely lost in the consequent fall of prices.

252. Suppose that, by artificial means, the comforts and necessaries of life are raised by taxation and other causes, do you not consider that that acts immediately upon the condition of the people, and that the removal of those causes would tend to improve that condition? —It acts not on the condition of the people, but on the cultivation of the soil, and so on the means of maintaining them. The removal of these causes would certainly in the first instance be followed up by an en-

largement of our agricultural produce, but whether this shall work a permanent improvement in the state of business depends altogether, I imagine, on their character and habits. Without a moral change in the population, any enlargement of their comfort, resulting from the abolition of taxes and other restraints, will, I fear, be altogether temporary.

253. Supposing an artificial system of taxation, which had the effect of raising the price of bread, and that that taxation were withdrawn, which may be supposed to bring down bread to the value of potatoes, do you not conceive that in their command upon the diminished price of bread there would be an increase on the part of the poor of the means of consuming bread, and so of any other article, such as sugar?—The consequence would be that the poor, in the first instance, would be translated into better circumstances; but without a proportional change in their habits, their standard of enjoyment remains the same; and they, marrying according to that standard, are soon where they were again.

254. But if, contemporaneously with the removal of obstacles which prevent the consumption of commodities, you have also found means for raising the moral condition of the people, will not the attainment of the comforts of life be greatly facilitated by the alteration?—As a subsidiary to the great work of amelioration, I should not refuse any expedient that might be of effect for the interim and temporary improvement in the condition of the people. At the same time, the question throws me back upon an improvement in their habits as the only permanent cause that will maintain the peasantry in a comfortable and well-conditioned state.

255. In considering the state of a population, at any given time, or in any given place, do you see any connexion between the numbers and the area upon which those numbers stand, without reference to other circumstances that can determine their physical condition?—The only connexion between numbers and areas which I can perceive is, that if two countries were of equal average fertility, and neither of them derived their

supplies from abroad, the larger country would of course have the larger population. But the proximate cause of this is just the augmented means of existence; and to quit this obvious principle for any new category on the relation between numbers and area, appears to be no great improvement in political science.

256. Assuming the fertility of the soil or the capital to vary, has area taken *per se*, any possible connexion with the question?—I do not conceive that area can have any possible connexion with the question. I see no influence in mere area, unless it were to come to there being too little room for people to stand in, or to move about in with facility and convenience.

257. Passing from the question of capital, and the means of employment, to the question of numbers, has it ever occurred to you that by a removal of numbers, when the numbers are disproportioned to the capital, and the means of employing it, relief could be given in the shape of emigration?—There is no doubt that, as in the other case, temporary relief would be given, it being of no consequence whether the proportion be altered by increasing the supply of food to the same population, or by diminishing the population to the same supply of food.

258. Has there been any considerable emigration, within your observation, from Glasgow and its vicinity? —There was a considerable emigration from Glasgow some years ago, and a considerable movement towards emigration on the part of the people.

259. Was that carried on to any extent that produced a visible effect upon the condition of those that remained?—I was not sensible of any effect produced by the emigration of those who actually went. I may here state that the appearance of a disposition to emigrate is very much magnified beyond, I think, the reality of their disposition. I remember, before I left Glasgow, that there were emigration societies, comprising altogether, if I am right, 4,000 members, which of course would represent to the eyes of people at a distance the extent of the disposition to emigrate. I was waited upon by the deputies of that society, and requested to

aid the business of their correspondence with London. I answered that I did not feel myself able to do any thing for the general associated body; but that if they would detach all those members who belonged to the parish of St John's, I would do what I could for them. They turned out to be nine in number; I felt this to be manageable enough, and easily found means to obtain a collection for the expenses of their removal to Canada. When the men saw, however, that this emigration was looking at them in good earnest, they all, without one exception, chose to remain at home. There is often, I am convinced, the appearance of a disposition to emigrate much beyond the reality.

260. In the case of low wages and want of employment, such as you have described in Glasgow in the year 1817, do you conceive that emigration could be relied upon as a mode of relief, unless it were carried on to a very considerable extent indeed?—My idea of emigration is somewhat analogous to what I expressed yesterday on the subject of temporary work for the poor in seasons of depression. The expedient of emigration has the same advantage over a poor rate which the expedient of temporary work has: a poor rate, by supplementing the wages of defective labour, keeps all the workmen upon an overstocked or overdone profession, and so, by perpetuating the glut in the market, perpetuates the depression of their condition; whereas by withdrawing so many of them to another work not professional, this no doubt saddles us with the whole expense of maintaining a certain number, but it will be found much cheaper than supplementing the defective wages of the whole, because, in point of fact, if we strike the wages of this extra professional work low enough, we shall find that much fewer people will offer themselves than we at first apprehend. Another great advantage of such an expedient is, that it affords a test by which we may estimate the extent and reality of the distress; and it does appear to me that emigration may just do the same thing: few are found to avail themselves of extra professional work at low wages; still fewer will avail themselves of emigration, this being against the

whole grain and tendency of nature, unless where there is the pressure of very severe distress. I should therefore hold it a safe thing to propose emigration; as far as it went it would lighten in the mean time an existing pressure, with the further advantage of appeasing the public imagination as to the extent and reality of the distress, because it would provide a test by which to measure these.

261. Assuming that the wages of labour in Britain are considerably higher than the rate of wages in Ireland, and that the difference of the rate measures the inducement which brings the Irish labourer into Britain, were emigration applied upon a large scale to this part of the empire, would it not have a tendency, in raising wages here, to increase the inducement to Irish paupers to flock over?—It certainly would have that tendency; that is to say, were it applied to England, and not applied in the same proportion to Ireland.

262. If it were applied to Ireland, would it not have a tendency to raise the rate of wages in Ireland, and to diminish the inducement to Irish emigration to this country?—As far as it went, it would certainly have that tendency. I do not think it would be at all unsafe to propose it, on pretty liberal terms, even to the Irish population. I would not anticipate a very great amount of applications for emigration from the Irish people; but as far as it went, it would certainly have the effect stated in the question. I may here be permitted to state what I have often considered as a very important principle in this matter: a very small variation in the numbers of the people is followed up by a much larger than a proportional variation in their wages, just as a very small change in the supply of necessaries is followed up by much larger than a proportional variation in their price. The fluctuation in the price of necessaries oscillates more widely in proportion to the variation in their supply than the fluctuation in the price of luxuries. Now the same thing, I apprehend, applies by a kind of reverse process to the price of labour. Employment being the medium through which people find their way to the necessaries of life, it observes the

same law in the tendency of its price to vary with the supply of labour, that the necessaries of life themselves do; or, in other words, a very small excess in the population is enough to account for a very great and general depression in the economic condition of the people; and, on the other hand, a very small abstraction of that excess has a great power in the way of raising the people to a fair and right level. This, among other things, is an argument upon the side of emigration, because, though I do not believe it would be availed of to any great extent, yet if we can get quit, in the mean time, of a small fractional proportion of the population, this would tell very much beyond the proportion of that fraction on the wages of labour in the country; I must at the same time say, however, that I have an utter want of faith in the efficacy of emigration as a permanent scheme. As a temporary expedient for meeting that kind of temporary pressure to which a country is exposed when describing certain transitions, it might with all safety and advantage be resorted to, and that without an oppressive expense to the public, because, though set up on a large and national scale, much fewer would avail themselves of it than we are disposed to anticipate.

263. It is in evidence before this Committee, that at the present moment a very considerable change is in progress in the management of land in Ireland, leading to the dispossession of many tenants, and to a difficulty on their part of finding places of settlement elsewhere; does not that constitute one of those transition cases to which emigration might be made safely applicable? —I think it might help very essentially to smooth and facilitate that transition.

264. Where hand labour is superseded by machinery, or one description of machinery, imperfect in itself, is superseded by a more perfect principle; would not that also constitute one of the states of transition for the evils of which emigration would be a remedy?—I certainly think so.

265. Do you not consider that recklessness and degradation, the consequences of poverty, involve a state

of existence under which the prudential check is less liable to operate than in a community where the labouring classes are more enabled to maintain their own independence?—I am inclined to think that recklessness and degradation are more the causes than the consequences of poverty, and that the restoration of the prudential check is more directly arrived at by the operation of a moral influence than by any economical arrangement.

266. When it is asserted or implied that the natural remedy for a redundant population is that diminution of their numbers which poverty and disease will ultimately effect, do you not think that, although this may be true as a general law, it has its exception in every country where civilization is too far advanced to allow of the alternative of permitting persons to perish from want?—I think that every effort should be made for averting so dreadful an alternative, and that the perishing even of so much as one individual by want is not a thing that should be coolly acquiesced in, in any Christian land.

267. Do you not consider that the existence of pauperism, showing itself in reduced wages, and in absolute dependence on the part of the labouring classes, involves a state of things which makes it very difficult to apply efficient measures of relief, prior to the removal of such pauperism?—I think that the difficulty of removing pauperism is generally over-rated, and that it presents no such difficulty as should prevent the immediate adoption of the best measure for its permanent removal. I mean the education of the people. I by no means look upon emigration as indispensable ere we shall apply the main remedy, which I think would, even without emigration, work out a cure; but I certainly think that emigration might facilitate the transition to that better state of things which the moral causes and they alone can make permanent.

268. The distinction then that you draw is, that you recommend the use of emigration as a test of distress, and next as a temporary remedy for the evils of the transition state, and not as a permanent remedy upon

which any reliance can be placed?—I do not think any reliance is to be placed upon it as a permanent remedy. Were an emigration scheme to become a constant part of the national system, the habit of the people would be accommodated thereto; and we should be kept in the state of a country at all times running over, a state that would imply the misery of an oppressed and straitened condition.

269. Are you of opinion that a measure of colonization upon an extended scale, applied as a national effort to the pauperism of the United Kingdom, especially of Ireland, would be a beneficial measure, facilitating the introduction of amended laws, and of a more judicious management of the poor, and if blended with a judicious education, would produce improved habits of thinking on the part of the lower classes, especially the younger portion of them?—I think it would be beneficial; but I do not think that the application of the general cure should wait for the scheme of colonization, though I think that such a scheme might operate as an auxiliary to the cure. In this view, a scheme of colonization might be very useful.

270. Do you not think that in England the knowledge which an able-bodied pauper has of his right to claim relief under the poor laws necessarily indisposes him to take any efficient measures for sustaining an independent existence?—Most certainly; and on that very ground I could have no faith in the efficacy of emigration, as a scheme of relief for England, so long as the present system of its pauperism remains. I think that it is a very profitless kind of legislation, first to do, and then to undo, or first to stimulate population by a compulsory provision on the one hand, and then to draw them off by an artificial mechanism on the other. It is playing fast and loose in the business of managing a people, and can be productive of no good effect whatever. But if tacked to a scheme for bringing England under a retracing process, by which to conduct the country back again from a compulsory to a gratuitous system of relief, then this were a transition process, which might be very much facilitated by emigration,

and particularly by empowering parochial vestries to offer to able-bodied labourers emigration as an alternative, an alternative which I think would not be accepted in one instance out of ten. The people would go back upon their own resources, and find a sufficiency in these resources far beyond what even themselves had calculated upon.

271. Do you consider that the reliance upon the general charity of the poor, one to another, which is known to exist in Ireland, produces in a certain degree, though not to the same extent, the consequences you have described as attending the recognized right to relief in England?—I think there is a very great difference between the two cases; the dependence upon a legal charity does a great deal more mischief than that dependence on the voluntary aid of one's fellows; there is, beside this, a further difference between the dependence that mendicants have on the general charity of the country at large, and the dependence which neighbours have upon the kindness of the families in their immediate vicinity. In as far as the latter kind of dependence is concerned, it is limited by the operation of delicacies, which operate with great force in every plebeian neighbourhood, and prevent the mutual dependence from being carried too far. I besides think there is much less of mis-directed charity under the voluntary than under the compulsory system. The poor know more of each other's merits and necessities, than either the wealthy or the members of any kind of public administration. I should hold that charity which passes and repasses among the contiguous families of a population, to be charity under the benefit of far more vigilant and salutary guardianship than can be secured by any artificial means whatever; so that the dependence on that charity meets with its check in the sharp-sighted and vigilant guardianship of immediate neighbours.

272. Is not the tendency of the system of the poor laws to produce pauperism, and the tendency of a system of extended charitable relief to produce mendicancy?—I think that it depends altogether upon the

state of the population as to character and morals. It is a most important question for Ireland, whether you will submit for a time to its mendicity, or exchange that mendicity for a regular and compulsory pauperism. Now, on many accounts, I would prefer the former to the latter alternative; and one of my reasons is, that education will at length quell the one but not the other. It may be difficult to furnish the Committee with a satisfactory analysis of this matter: I feel assured that so it is, however much I may fail in expounding how it is. One thing is abundantly obvious, that the act of becoming a mendicant is one of unmixed degradation, and the self-respect inspired by education stands directly and diametrically opposed to it. It is not so with the act of becoming a pauper; a state sanctioned by law, and in entering upon which, the consciousness of right, and the resolute assertion of it, awaken feelings that serve to temper the humiliation of charity. I think that this admits of historical illustration. The mendicity of Scotland gave way in a few years to its education. The pauperism and education of England have for many years advanced contemporaneously. I do not believe that the most efficient system of education which can be possibly devised will ever make head against the pauperism of England; at the very most, it would but give rise to two populations, distinguished from each other by opposite extremes of character. I should therefore be exceedingly sorry if Irish mendicity were exchanged for English pauperism. I think that the floating mendicity of Ireland will fall under the operation of those moral causes which might be brought to bear upon it; but if, in order to escape from this, you establish a law of pauperism, you will in fact establish so many parochial fixtures, a nucleus in every parish, around which your worst population will gather, and from which you will find it impossible to dislodge them. I should exceedingly regret, that under the influence of an impatience to be delivered from this evil of mendicity, you should, in getting quit of that which is conquerable by education, precipitate yourselves into that which is unconquerable by education.

273. You said, in a former part of your examination, that you had no doubt that the compulsory system might be got rid of in England, and that the population of this country might be eventually brought to the operation of the system that prevails in Scotland; how do you reconcile that opinion with that which you have just now stated, that you consider the people of this country, having a right to the relief which they receive by law, are so fixed in the assertion and the claim of that right, that you do not think they could be induced to relinquish it?—Not unless the right be abolished. The retracing process supposes that all the new applicants shall be treated on the system of voluntary charity, and not on the compulsory system.

274. Do you contemplate, in the present artificial state of England, that there would be any hope, within any reasonable time, of accomplishing that?—I think, that with the disappearance of the existing generation of paupers, it might be accomplished. I should like to make one observation here, on the great incredulity which prevails with regard to the possibility of the retracing process taking effect in England. People reason on the want of natural affection, and the want of mutual kindness between poor and poor: now I think that these affections exist in as great strength in England as they do in any other country, and that the reason why they are not exercised is, because they are accompanied with a persuasion, in the minds of the people, that the objects of those affections are otherwise provided for, and that when so there is no call for their exercise. The poor look towards something *ab extra*. It is not that they want mutual sympathy, nor is it that the system of compulsory assessment has extinguished this principle, but it has lulled it as it were asleep, by taking away the occasion for its exercise. Therefore, instead of saying that the system of pauperism has extinguished those good feelings in the breasts of Englishmen, I should rather say it has operated as a check upon the exercise of their feelings; but the moment the check is removed, they will, by instant elasticity, break forth again, and be as vigorously exercised on their appro-

priate objects in England as in any other country of the world. There is one striking anecdote on this subject, pregnant, I think, with instruction, and for which I would refer to the very interesting work of Mr Buxton on prisons: he states, that in Bristol, the constitution of the prison is different from the constitution of most of the prisons in England. The criminals have a very scanty allowance, rather inferior to the average of human subsistence, for their food. The debtors have no allowance at all, so that they are wholly dependent either upon their own relations or upon the random charity of the public. It has so happened, that both those resources have failed them; but the knowledge of a human creature in the agonies of hunger, and in the immediate neighbourhood, was so intolerable to the other inmates that no instance of starvation has ever occurred in that prison, because the criminals were drawn forth to the exercise of compassion, and shared their own scanty pittance along with the debtors. Now, carry back this from prisons to parishes; carry it back to a population who have not undergone the depraving process that conducts them to a prison, and *à fortiori* we may be perfectly confident that there will be no such thing as starvation permitted in any neighbourhood, provided that the circumstances of the suffering individuals are known. Insomuch, that if any case of distress ever broke out in the parish over which I presided in Glasgow, it was enough to quiet all my apprehensions, that I knew it to be surrounded with human eyes and human ears. I never distrusted the promptitude of human feelings, and I always felt that every such case was followed up by the most timely forthgoings of aid and of sympathy from all the neighbours.

275. Can you develope a little more fully the historical circumstances of Scotland, during that transition which took place between the period referred to in the description you read of Fletcher of Saltoun, and the period described by Defoe?—It is a very frightful picture that Fletcher of Saltoun gives of the mendicity, when he talks of 200,000 in that state.

276. The question alludes more particularly with

respect to the causes which led to the one state of things, and the remedies which were applied to bring society into the other state?—The causes which led to the state of things described by Fletcher, were the religious persecutions which the people underwent for about thirty years, the suspension of our scholastic mode of education; and I believe the want of an acceptable and efficient ministry of the Gospel; but, in point of fact, the law of parochial education was repealed at the Restoration by Charles II., and it was not resumed again till the Revolution, and during that time especially a most criminal and mendicant population had accumulated in Scotland.

277. Therefore it was to the abstraction of moral causes acting for good, that you attribute the degradation of the people, and to the re-introduction of those moral causes that you attribute their improvement?—Yes; the law of Scotland, favourable as it is to the mode of assessment, is not to be accredited with that improvement, for it took place before the principle of assessment had been introduced into half-a-dozen parishes.

278. Then you attribute the change that took place to no particular law, but rather to the operation of those causes, that of education especially, which took place after the Revolution?—Entirely to the operation of those causes. In regard to the number of mendicants described by Fletcher; he talks of 200,000, besides a great many getting but a scanty provision from the sessional funds. Now it occurs to me to say, that the number of our paupers at present is very much overrated, even in the supplementary report of the General Assembly. It is there stated that there are 44,000 who were obtaining sessional relief at the time the report was drawn up; now they have made no distinction between the occasional and the regular poor; and among those 44,000 there is at least one-half who do not get so much as 10s. a-year.

279. Does it appear from historical records that there was great increase of demand for the productions of the soil, and increase of demand for labour, after the Revo-

lution of 1688?—I do not think that any very sensible enlargement took place in the economic condition of Scotland, till after the year 1745, or the second rebellion; there was certainly a great enlargement afterwards, but it chiefly took place between the years 1745 and 1800.

280. Have you been able to trace any connexion in comparing the assessed and unassessed parishes of Scotland, between the introduction of an assessment, and the residence of the landed proprietors, or between the absence of assessment and absenteeism?—I have not been able to trace any connexion of that sort; I remember that a long time ago I resided for some months in one of the assessed parishes. The meetings were very little attended by the landed gentlemen; chiefly by their agents and by the minister and kirk-session.

281. You said, in a former part of your examination, that you considered the compulsory system in Scotland much upon the increase, how do you account for that?—I think that the first and most natural imagination upon this subject is, that if the existing means are pressed upon by the demands of parishioners, the most effectual method of meeting and neutralizing this is, just to increase the means, and having a law which empowers the increase of means, it appears to me very natural to suppose, that by extending the means we should meet the applications, and provide for the distress of the parish: it is a mistake, but a very natural mistake. Then there is another cause: non-residence has been a temptation, I may say a provocative, which has led to the introduction of assessments in many of our Scottish parishes. On the principle of equalizing the support of the poor among all the heritors, this mode has been resorted to, very much ultimately to the regret of the residing heritors, who have found that it would have been far better to bear the whole burden of the gratuitous, than their part only of the compulsory system.

282. Would not that be a reason for adopting the voluntary mode of relief, instead of having recourse to the compulsory one?—Yes; but we have to come to

that conclusion by an inferential process, which practical men in general do not make: they act more upon impulse than upon reason, upon the force of that consideration which is most obvious, and which first impresses itself.

283. Would not the success of the voluntary mode of relief mainly depend upon that extraordinary diligence used by persons to be found in the different parishes, and which you yourself applied in the case of the parish of St John?—I think it does not depend upon that at all; the reason why I had to use diligence was, that I was surrounded by assessed parishes on all sides of me, and that I was also surrounded by the espionage of hostile observers. I was therefore under the necessity of making strict inquisition into every case, for the vindication of that step which I myself had gratuitously taken, and for the consequences of which I was personally responsible; but had I been placed in other circumstances, in the midst of unassessed parishes, and surrounded by a natural economy all around me, I would say there was no such strenuousness of administration necessary, and that the success entirely depended upon the reflex influence of this state of things upon the habits and expectations of the people. The agency which I instituted in St John's was more an agency of observation than one of positive efficiency: we did not originate any of those processes, which in a natural state of things, make up for the want of public charity; we only discovered them.

284. Is not the tendency of the assessment principle in Scotland not only to change the mode in which the money is procured, but also at once to enlarge the circle of recipients, and to alter their character?—Decidedly; extending to cases that, in the unassessed parishes, we could never think of providing for, and in which the persons themselves would never think of making application.

285. Does not this circle also extend in assessed parishes in proportion as the assessment has been for a longer time introduced?—Yes, uniformly so.

286. Do you object to a compulsory provision in

Ireland for the employment of the people?—Yes, I certainly would for the permanent employment of the poor.

287. If it appears that there are multitudes of able-bodied people out of employment in Ireland, and that there are many objects to which their labour could be profitably and advantageously applied, and which objects are nevertheless altogether neglected; do you not think it might be desirable by law to collect funds for the sake of employing this at present unemployed and suffering population?—It strikes me, that whatever employment is profitable and advantageous, will be found out by the capitalists of the land, and its not being undertaken save by Government is a presumption against the employment being profitable and advantageous.

288. If the fact is otherwise, if it appears from the Reports of many Committees of Parliament, that there are those undertakings in which capitalists might engage with profit, would you still, under those circumstances, retain your opinion against that employment? —Against employment at the public expense, if calculated on as a permanent resource; I should have no objection to it as a temporary expedient for relieving those inconveniences, which are also temporary, and which attach to a transition state. The change which is now taking place in the agriculture of Ireland is a change producing inconvenience that will be but temporary, because it is a change I should imagine favourable to the increase of agricultural produce, and therefore securing a larger amount of the means of subsistence than under the present system, so that there are in Ireland capabilities in reserve which have not yet been entered upon, larger in proportion to the distance between the actual limit of its agriculture, and the limit to which it may be carried; and in the development of these capabilities there will at length be abundant room not merely for the absorption of all the present surplus population, but for the comfortable maintenance, at length, of a larger population than is now in Ireland.

289. Do you not consider, that if there existed means

of employment, such as those suggested by the few last questions, that more benefit would be communicated to the poor by the employment of private capital seeking a profitable return, than by the compulsory employment of capital raised by taxation for the purposes of labour and charitable relief?—I should feel disposed to confide all employments from which a profit is expected to private capital.

290. If a system of employment derived from taxation were introduced, do you not think that it would impede the employment of private capital for the same purpose?—I should certainly be apprehensive of that result.

291. There is an observation made by Defoe upon this subject, in which he says, that "to set poor people at work on the same thing that other poor people were employed on before, and at the same time not to increase the consumption, is giving to one what you take away from another, enriching one poor man to starve another, putting a vagabond in an honest man's employment, and putting his diligence on the tenters to find out some other work to maintain his family." Are those opinions in which you concur?—I think there is great truth and justice in the observation.

292. What numerical proportion of the population do you think ought to be in the course of education at school?—I think somewhat more than a tenth; the proportion, however, is affected by the length of the attendance in school; and I can imagine such improvement in the business of education, and the education thereby to be so expedited, as to render a less proportion necessary than one-tenth for the complete education of a people.

293. Have you compared the effects of education carried on through the agency and under the superintendence of central and charitable associations with a system of education which is more located in its character, and which is administered by those who have a direct interest in its success?—I certainly think that it is not in the power of charitable associations so thoroughly to pervade the land with education as might

be done by what I would call the stationary apparatus of Scotland, consisting of schools erected in little vicinities all over the country; at the same time I think that those societies might be of great advantage in the way of giving the first impulse to education, and creating an appetite for it; but that societies never can thoroughly overtake the whole length and breadth of a land, and that we shall not reach a full and entire system of education but by the means of permanently established schools.

294. Do you consider that, however unfit such charitable associations may be to carry on and conduct schools over the face of the land, they might be made available for the purpose of printing and publishing books, and communicating instruction in that way?—They certainly might be of very great use in that way. There is another use which I think they may be turned to; if there be any thing defective in the mode of the established education, I think they might be useful in supplementing and stimulating the system by keeping up a wholesome reaction upon the established teachers.

295. Might they not also act usefully in establishing model schools for the instruction and training of masters?—Yes, I think they might be very beneficial in that way.

296. There appear to be three different species of education for the poor of a country: the endowed system, in which the whole expense of the school is maintained by the public; the unendowed system, in which every thing is left to private effort, without any aid or direction; and the combined system, between those two. In the first place, what do you conceive may be the advantages and the defects of a system of education wholly unendowed?—A system wholly unendowed will never originate education in a country; it does not call out the people sufficiently. There is on this subject a very important principle, and which forms one of the strongest arguments, in my apprehension, that can be alleged, both for a scholastic and ecclesiastical establishment. I fear that Dr Adam Smith has done great mischief by a most unfortunate generalization he has fallen into

upon this matter; he seems to think that the articles of Christian and common instruction should be left to the mere operation of demand and supply, in the same way as articles of ordinary merchandise are, not adverting to the great distinction between the two. The sentient appetites and feelings of our nature secure a sufficient intensity of demand for the articles of mere physical gratification; and to be sure, he did well in exposing the whole system of bounties and artificial encouragement, as what should be put away from the business of ordinary trade; but he unfortunately extended the same principle to the articles of common and Christian instruction, and seemed to think that it partook very much of the odiousness and the mischief of a bounty to have endowed and privileged men whose business it was to meet the people with education, whether that education be considered as general scholarship or as Christian education. The distinction between that and an article of ordinary merchandise is, in proportion to our want of the one is our appetite for it, in proportion to our want of food is the intensity of the feeling of hunger; but in regard to our appetite for knowledge, in proportion to our want of the article is our unconcern about it; and the consequence is, that unless the people are operated upon aggressively by a body of philanthropists from without, or by the government from without, we shall never arouse them out either of the state of ignorance or of the state of irreligion which they are found in naturally.

297. Would the application of that principle lead you to adopt, as the proper system of education, free schools, in which the whole expense is paid either by local taxation or by the State, namely, a system contrasted to that to which your last answer applied, that being an unendowed system, and this being a free system, or wholly endowed?—I think the wholly endowed system may be applicable to a country, in the first instance: and thus it is that I rejoice in the efforts of those philanthropic societies, who have gone about with the offer of gratuitous education both in England and in Ireland; but it strikes me that a wholly endowed

system is highly inexpedient as a permanent system in a land. I would just read a single paragraph from a paper that I published on the subject in Glasgow, anterior to the erection of my parish schools in St John's; I wished to interest the liberality of my friends in the support of the parish schools, and the way in which I argue against a wholly endowed system is as follows:—

"What is gotten for no value, is rated at no value; what may be obtained without cost in money, is often counted unworthy of any cost in pains; what parents do not pay for the acquirement of, children will not be so urged to toil for the acquirement of; to be away from school, or to be idle at school when not a matter of pecuniary loss, will far more readily be a matter of connivance. There is no doubt a loss of other advantages, but these, under a loose and gratuitous system of education, will be but held in capricious demand, and in slender estimation. The only way of thoroughly incorporating the education of the young with the habit of families, is to make it form part of the family expenditure; and thus to make the interest, and the watchfulness, and the jealousy of parents, so many guarantees for the diligence of their children. And for these reasons do we hold the establishment of free schools in a country to be a frail and impolitic expedient for the object of either upholding a high tone of scholarship among our labouring classes, or of rendering the habit at all general, or of perpetuating that habit from generation to generation. And such a system has not a more adverse influence on the scholars than it has upon the teachers: let a man deal in any article whatever, and there is not a more effective security for the good quality of what he deals in than the control and the guardianship of his own customers; the teacher of a free school is under no such dependence: it is true that he may be paid according to the proficiency of the learners, but the parent who can instantly withdraw his children is a far more jealous inquisitor into this matter than the official examinator, on whose personal interest at least there is no such powerful or effectual hold. And we repeat it, therefore, that carelessness

on the part of the teacher, as well as a remiss and partial attendance on the part of the taught, is the likely fruit of that gratuitous system of education, the aspect and the tendency of which we are now employed in contemplating." I may here add, that I think there were five wholly endowed schools in Glasgow when I first became connected with that place, and it quite accorded with our experience, that by far the most remiss and unprosperous style of education went on there, in so much that the authorities of the place, with great propriety, abolished those schools, and applied the funds to various parishes, for the purpose of erecting schools in accordance with the general system that obtains in Scotland.

298. Is that general system to which you have last adverted a system combined of a certain portion of endowment, and a certain portion of contribution on the part of the scholars?—Yes; so as to form a half-way meeting as it were between Government and the population.

299. Are the schools under the Scotch parochial system built at the public expense?—Not directly at the expense of Government; the law is that the heritors of the parish shall erect a school, and a schoolhouse, and keep them in repair; and that the schoolmaster, over and above, shall be provided with a certain quantity of ground for a garden, and have a salary; and the maximum and minimum of that salary are defined, I think, by the Act of 1803.

300. Is that duty generally executed?—Universally, I am sure, in the Lowland parishes; and I believe universally all over Scotland.

301. Is that nearly the system, or do you know any thing of the system of education which is sanctioned by the laws, and which is carried on to a great extent in New England?—I am not sufficiently acquainted with that system to answer the question.

302. Is the system pursued in Scotland this, that each parish or district is bound to keep up, according to its extent, a school, or number of schools; and that those schools are supported by local assessment

upon the inhabitants of those parishes or districts?—The number of schools is not according to the extent of the parish; the law only provides that there shall be one school in each parish; the expense, as far as the school is endowed, lies exclusively upon the landed proprietor. I call it an instance of partial endowment, because the income of the teacher is made up of a salary and fees, with the advantages of a school, schoolhouse and garden.

303. Can you inform the Committee what is the general amount of the fixed salary given to the master?—The maximum and minimum are from L.20 to L.30 a-year; but it depends upon the price of grain. There was some sort of provision, that at the end of twenty-five years there should be a new estimate formed, according to this price.

304. Are the Committee to understand that the expense of providing a house for the residence of a master, and the land attached to that house, is also supplied by local assessment paid by the heritors?—Quite so.

305. In what mode are the fees fixed?—They are paid, generally quarterly, by the parents of the children.

306. Are those left to be fixed upon the ordinary principles of supply and demand, or are they fixed by any regulation of the heritors?—They are fixed by the heritors, in conjunction with the minister.

307. Do you know what the average amount of the entire emoluments of the schoolmasters may be taken at, comprehending the salary, the value of the house and garden, and the fees?—That varies in different parishes according to the population. I fear that the average income of a schoolmaster, taking Scotland all over, is not more than L.50 a-year; and I consider that a great deal too little. I do not know a more important functionary than the parochial schoolmaster, and I should like exceedingly to see that, by an increase of salary, and a proportional increase of fees, he was elevated to a far more respectable condition of independence than he at present enjoys.

308. Do you know what is the average amount of the

quarterly fees?—That varies very much too; but taking the general run of country parishes, about two shillings a-quarter for reading, three shillings for reading and writing, and four shillings for reading, writing, and arithmetic. I give this answer, because in framing my own schools in St John's, I fixed upon those fees, and also provided a salary of L.25 a-year to each of the schoolmasters, and I did it in the wish to assimilate the economy of a town parish as much as possible to that of a country parish, to give the children the same advantages in regard to the cheapness of education; that rate was fixed upon a deliberate survey of the state of the matter all over Scotland.

309. Is not the course of education in some instances carried much further than mere reading, writing, and arithmetic, in the parochial schools?—Most of our parish schoolmasters can teach Latin, and generally when they are advertised for, Latin is stated as one of the qualifications that will be required.

310. Do those parochial schools then, in the case of a boy of superior ability and energy of character, afford him the means of acquiring knowledge that may lead him to the University?—The transition is immediate from most of the country schools to the University.

311. You were understood to state, that the extension of education cannot be left to the regulation of the ordinary principles of demand and supply, because the desire to obtain it may be rated at an inverse ratio to the real necessity of the party for it. Is not that principle much modified by the circumstance that the demand for education does not depend solely upon the desire of the parties who are themselves to receive it, but upon the desire of their parents and relatives that they should receive it?—I think that the want of education extinguishes not merely the desire on the part of him who is to be the subject of education, but also the desire on the part of his natural guardians and superiors, because they, partaking in the general state of ignorance, and having little value for knowledge themselves, have a proportionably low estimate of the importance of that knowledge for their children.

312. Have you found that among ignorant and vicious parents, that a low estimation of education for their children is very prevalent?—There are not many instances of that in country parishes in Scotland. The great good of the parochial system is, that it created an appetite which extended beyond even its own means of supplying it. In many instances, where there is a parish of 5,000, 6,000, or 8,000 people, the established parochial school cannot dispense education to the children of so great a number; but a taste and a demand for education have now been so infused by the parochial system into the general mass, that the demand of the people alone is adequate, in country parishes, to make good the deficiency of the established means, and accordingly, beside the established parish school, there are in many of our populous parishes, three, four, or five schools that are carried on purely on the strength of the principle of demand and supply; but then this demand has been previously created by the operation of the parochial system.

313. Is education as cheaply supplied by those additional schools as in the parochial schools?—I believe, in general, not so cheaply; or if so cheaply, it is education of an inferior quality.

314. However extensive a parish is, is there only one parochial school?—Only one parochial school; and accordingly in Glasgow, and in all our large towns where they have fallen away from the benefit of the parochial system, although the Scottish habit is kept up in considerable strength, yet it has so far decayed that a great many of the Glasgow population I found grew up without acquiring the art of reading at all.

315. Is there only one school in an extensive country parish?—There is only one parochial school however extensive the parish may be.

316. Is that the case in the Highlands?—In the Highlands there is only one parochial school in each parish; there may be endowments from other sources, but those endowments form no part of the regular establishment of schools.

317. Do you conceive that it would be an improve-

ment if each parish was compelled to keep up a number of schools, proportioned to the extent of the parish and the amount of the population, where one school was not sufficient?—It was to supply the want of that that I succeeded in erecting no less than four parish schools in St John's, requiring the cost of about L.1,000 for each, that is to say, L.500 for each fabric, and L.500 for the endowment of a salaried teacher.

318. Is the school instruction, given in the Highlands of Scotland, given in the English language, or is it given in the Gaelic language?—It is given in both; and my impression is, that it is given more in the English language than in the Gaelic in the regular parish schools; but there has been a Gaelic School Society instituted, the object of which was to set a-going circulating schools, for the purpose of filling up the large intermediate spaces between the stationary parish schools, and it is a principle of their's, that they teach the Gaelic along with the English; I believe that that example has operated usefully upon the parish schools. There was a jealousy which produced an attempt towards the extinction of the Gaelic language, just as there was an attempt towards the extinction of all the Highland peculiarities, as displayed in Acts of Parliament against the Highland dress; it was in the spirit of that jealousy that the teaching in Gaelic was discouraged. It has now subsided, however, yet Gaelic is more plentifully supplied by the Gaelic School Society than by the parish schools. But our additional schools, that we are at present erecting under the patronage of the General Assembly, provide for the teaching of Gaelic as well as English.

319. Does the use of Gaelic, at the present day, operate to impart instruction better among the Highlanders?—It has given them an additional taste and demand for knowledge in general; so that in virtue of that change they are more acquainted with English books and English literature than they were before.

320. At what age are the children generally taken into the parochial schools?—It depends very much upon the parents, and perhaps upon the modes of industry

that prevail in particular parts of the country; I would say they enter generally at five years of age.

321. At what age are they generally transferred to the University?—I think that the students now do not go to the University so early as they used to do, though they still go a great deal too early. I suppose the average age may be fourteen or fifteen.

322. Does any considerable proportion of the population of Scotland remain uneducated?—There is a certain proportion in the large towns, and a proportion that has been pretty well ascertained now in the Highlands and Islands, but I would say that the habit is quite universal in Lowland country parishes.

323. Are you not of opinion, that the operations of this Gaelic Society have tended rapidly though indirectly to the extinction of the Gaelic language?—I am not aware that they have had that effect.

324. Have not they operated considerably to give an increased knowledge of the English language?—They have, certainly.

325. Do you consider it probable that the English and the Gaelic language will continue to go on *pari passu* for any considerable time in the country?—The retrogression, on the part of the Gaelic language, is very slow; the line of demarcation between the Gaelic and the English being still, I believe, very much what it was fifty years ago. We can ascertain that from a circumstance that is noticeable enough; in the Gaelic parishes, the minister is bound to preach in Gaelic once every Sunday. There has certainly been a slow progress in a northern direction towards preaching exclusively in English, but the progress is exceedingly slow. In a large period of time, however, the tendency is to the subsiding, and at length to the ultimate disappearance of the Gaelic language.

326. Do you think that the course which has been taken in the management of Highland property has tended materially to diminish the number of those that speak the Gaelic language?—I should think so.

327. Has it ever occurred to you that the extension of paper currency has had the effect of extending the

knowledge of the English language?—I am not aware of it.

328. If a system of partial endowment with reference to education be pursued, instead of one that is wholly gratuitous, must not a certain proportion of the population, who are not able to pay the established fees, be left, under this medium system of education, without the means of instruction?—I am not inclined to regulate that matter on the presumption that any considerable number of the people would be unable to provide for the education of their children, nor am I fond of any thing like a regular and public provision for their gratuitous education: it may prove a stepping-stone to pauperism; it may in one way lessen the amount of education; for suppose there is a certain number of places which are provided for to be given away gratuitously, then there might be an expectancy for those places far beyond the number of them; and I have known them in Glasgow wait so long, that many outgrew their opportunities, and rose up to manhood without receiving any education at all. I think that such a provision proceeds on too prevalent a tendency to underrate the capabilities of the lower orders. Taking the general habit of the Scottish peasant, the education of his children forms one of the regular outgoings of his family; he counts education worth its price, and that price, generally speaking, is cheerfully paid by him.

329. Is there generally among the poorer classes in Scotland any family education going on, either previous to the children going to school or while they are at school?—I am not aware that there is much of the mere education of letters; there is, though I am sorry to say it has declined to a considerable extent, a habit that was bequeathed to us from former days, that of a domestic religious education on the Sabbath.

330. Have you ever found or heard that poor persons flow into parishes where there are endowed schools, for the purpose of obtaining education gratuitously?—No; I do not think that that forms a moving force of sufficient power to induce the movement of a family from one parish to another. It forms so small a frac-

tion of the whole expenditure of a family, that I should not expect, and I have never heard of any instance of it.

331. Is the exact period of the introduction of the Scottish parochial system known?—I would say, though I am not able to state the precise year, that it is very nearly coeval with the Scottish Reformation.

332. You stated that there were some funds of endowed schools in Glasgow, transferred by the municipal body to other schools; what was the right which the municipal power had of so doing?—I presume that the magistrates had the power of doing it, and I think they made a very salutary change by it in the system.

333. Do you consider that the Scottish parochial system has had any considerable effect in forming the character of the people, and in giving them the prudential habits you describe?—There is a charm annexed by many to the mere education of letters; I do not hold that this of itself can achieve much for a people: in Scotland it has been made the vehicle of education of a higher description, even that of religious principle.

334. Is the introduction of religious principle into the schools of Scotland connected with any authority or superintendence exercised by the clergy, or does it depend upon the parochial system itself, independently of such clerical interposition?—I should think that even apart from clerical interposition, a school might be productive of salutary effects, provided it were well constituted, and that the school-books were well ordered; but in point of fact there is a very close affinity between the parish minister and the parish school; and besides, there is an annual examination of all the schools within the bounds of the Presbytery, conducted by a committee of their number, and made the subject of an annual report.

335. Does religious instruction form part of the education?—I would scarcely say that religious instruction in a formal or separate way formed part of our school education, but that a religious influence is secured in schools, because the Bible is generally a class-book, and the national catechism is also taught.

336. Is that part of the education carried on through

the agency of the schoolmaster, or under the control and superintendence of the minister of the parish?—It is carried on under the immediate agency of the schoolmaster. The minister may exercise an habitual inspection as he chooses, and when he does so, he, generally speaking, is very much welcomed by the schoolmaster; and besides that, there is the annual examination I just now adverted to.

337. Is the schoolmaster in any degree under the authority of the parochial minister?—Not properly under the authority of the parochial minister; but were there any thing exceptionable, either in the mode of education or in the character of the schoolmaster, he could be brought before the Presbytery, and certainly might have complaints preferred against him there, which, if substantiated, would infer his deposition from his office.

338. Do you connect any important consequences with the locality of those schools, their being fixed in the parishes, and the school-houses being provided, and thus by external signs, the subject of education being constantly presented to the minds of the people?—I think that is of very great consequence, in as far as the amount of the education is concerned. With the permission of the Committee I will read a short paragraph on that subject from the paper adverted to already. Some may think it a fine and shadowy, but I consider the principle there noticed as having quite a substantial and practical influence.

"The universality of the habit of education in our Lowland parishes is certainly a very striking fact, nor do we think that the mere lowness of the price forms the whole explanation of it. There is more than may appear at first sight in the very circumstance of a marked and separate edifice standing visibly out to the eye of the people, with its familiar and oft-repeated designation. There is also much in the constant residence of a teacher, moving through the people of his locality, and of recognized office and distinction amongst them; and perhaps there is most of all in the tie which binds the locality itself to the parochial seminary, that

has long stood as the place of repair for the successive young belonging to the parish; for it is thus that one family borrows its practice from another, and the example spreads from house to house, till it embrace the whole of the assigned neighbourhood, and the act of sending their children to the school passes at length into one of the tacit but well understood proprieties of the vicinage, and new families just fall as if by infection into the habit of the old ones, so as in fact to give a kind of firm mechanical certainty to the operation of a habit, from which it were violence and singularity to depart; and in virtue of which education has acquired a universality in Scotland which is unknown in the other countries in the world."

339. How are the masters chosen, and how are their qualifications decided upon?—There is an advertisement of the vacancy, and there is a day for the examination of candidates, who are required to bring their testimonials, and who are subjected to an examination at the sight of the heritors and minister.

340. By whom is the examination conducted?—In general, I think, by the clergymen; but they may call in the aid of examinators; it is an examination which is held in the presence of the electors, who consist of the heritors, along with the minister.

341. Are they all the heritors, or only the heritors possessing a certain qualification?—The Act, I think, of 1803, defines the qualification of an elector; at present, I have forgotten the amount of it.

342. Do you consider that that system of local election has operated so as to procure the services of persons duly qualified for the discharge of the duties of schoolmaster?—It has certainly done so in Scotland, generally speaking.

343. Would you be inclined to prefer such a system to any system of direct nomination, independently of the election of those who paid the income of the schoolmaster?—I can suggest no improvement on the method of election in Scotland.

344. Is the modern system of instruction, which is called Bell's, or Lancaster's, much practised in the

large schools of Scotland?—In the larger schools it is introduced; but it has not, excepting in a very few instances, superseded the personal inspection of each scholar by the schoolmaster. The monitorial system has been introduced to a certain degree; but not so far as it has been carried in England.

345. Where the population is not very large, do you conceive that in the older system of education there are moral advantages from the more immediate superintendence of the master, which form a compensation for the loss of time in the one system as compared with the other?—I think that both might be combined; and that great mischief is done to the cause of education, when a school is of such extent, that the monitors stand completely between the head-teacher and the scholars.

346. Has it not, in some instances, a tendency to replace the moral influence by a process merely mechanical?—Yes; and I do not think that any mechanical process can make up for the loss of the moral influence; at the same time, much use might be made of the systems of Bell and Lancaster. I have known some able and skilful teachers avail themselves of the system to such an extent, as to enable them to do justice to a school of 150.

347. From the general rapidity of instruction which is connected with the system of Bell and Lancaster, do you not think there is a facility given, and a necessity created, for the enlargement of the circle of education? —I certainly do think that now, in consequence of the improvements which have taken place in education, the old course of it will not suffice to fill up the number of years that used to be devoted to education; and that in the same time, a much greater amount of knowledge may be acquired now than formerly.

348. Do you conceive that in schools, such as the parochial schools of Scotland, there might be instruction introduced, bearing upon the practical interests of the people, such as works upon the evils of combination, or explaining familiarly the principles upon which the wages of labour depend, or the effects of machinery

in its immediate and in its ultimate consequences, and other subjects of that description?—It is a great improvement upon the old practice to have books that come down to the understandings of the young people; but I am not aware that those subjects could be thus brought down to the understandings of children so young as those that repair to what I may call the primary schools. I think that those subjects may be addressed to even the lowest of the people; but in a more advanced state with respect to age. I know that in the mechanic's school of Edinburgh, some of the more interesting topics of political economy have been introduced with very great advantage, and in such a way as to have a tranquillizing effect upon the minds of the people.

349. Had you at Glasgow any portion of your parishioners in St John's of a religion differing from the Established Church of Scotland?—A good many; it was one of those parishes in which, from the population having outstripped the established means for their instruction, there were very few indeed who belonged to the Established Church of Scotland.

350. Were there any Roman Catholics?—A good many Roman Catholics.

351. Were any of those Roman Catholics in the progress of education within your view?—There happened to be one school very numerously attended, to the extent of 300 scholars, within the limits of the parish of St John's; it was a school which, along with two others, was supported by the Catholic School Association that was formed in Glasgow, and we made what we thought a very good compromise with the Catholic clergyman; he consented to the use of the Bible, according to the authorized version, as a school-book, we consenting to have Catholic teachers, and upon that footing the education went on, and went on, I believe, most prosperously, and with very good effect. From the mere delight I had in witnessing the display and the exercise of native talent among the young Irish, I frequently visited that school, and I was uniformly received with the utmost welcome and respect by the schoolmaster.

I remember, upon one occasion, when I took some ladies with me, and we were present at the examination of the school for about two hours, he requested, at the end of the examination, that I would address the children: I felt a kind of momentary embarrassment at the proposal; I was resolved, however, to address them as I would any Protestant children, and accordingly did address them, for perhaps a quarter or nearly half an hour, urging upon them that Scripture was the alone rule of faith and manners, and other wholesome Protestant principles. The schoolmaster, so far from taking the slightest offence, turned round and thanked me most cordially for the address I had given.

352. That schoolmaster being a Roman Catholic?—That schoolmaster being a Roman Catholic; it really convinced me that a vast deal might be done by kindness, and by discreet and friendly personal intercourse with the Roman Catholics. I may also observe, that whereas it has been alleged that under the superintendence of a Catholic teacher there might be a danger of only certain passages of Scripture being read, to the exclusion of others, as far as my observations extended, he read quite indiscriminately and impartially over Scripture; I recollect that day in particular, I found him engaged with the first chapter of John.

353. Did you meet with any contradiction on the part of the Roman Catholic clergy of Glasgow?—Not in the least, for the clergyman was a party in the negotiation; he attended our meetings, and there was a mutual understanding between the clergyman and the members of the committee: nay, a good many members of the committee were themselves Roman Catholics, and I remember when I was asked to preach for the Roman Catholic School Society, the committee came and thanked me for my exertions, and more particularly the Roman Catholic members of that committee, who were present at the sermon.

354. Do you consider that the success of that experiment was owing wholly or in any degree to their reliance upon the absence of any indirect object on your part, or any attempt to interfere with the religious

faith of the Roman Catholic children in the way of proselytism?—Had they suspected any sort of attempt that was obnoxious to their feelings, they of course would not have sent their children to the school.

355. Was not the system of education which you represent as having so very much raised the character of the Scotch people, a very decidedly religious education?—Decidedly, and there is no doubt that it was with a view to the religion of the people that those schools were originally instituted; I have no doubt that it was a desire for their religious instruction that formed the great moving force on the part of the clergy and the fathers of the Scottish Reformation, which led to the establishment of those schools.

356. Was it not, in fact, a system which produced a people whose instruction in Christianity was of a much more perfect kind than their instruction in other matters?—I ascribe the religious influence of our schools to the circumstance of the Scriptures being a school-book. When I spoke of direct religious instruction, I meant to say that there was not, to the best of my recollection, any separate day or any separate meeting for the exclusive object of religious instruction, but that, in point of fact, the reading of the Bible, and also a daily examination of the children upon the catechism, stand incorporated with the general system of the school.

357. Do they not form the major part of it?—I will scarcely say they form the major part, because the catechism does not occupy more perhaps to each individual than a very few minutes; and with regard to the reading, it is, in my opinion, a bad plan to make the Bible so very elementary a book, that scholars have to spell and mis-spell, and hammer their way to the words of it; the Bible, therefore, should be chiefly read by the higher classes. The general course of our country schools consists of the alphabet, two spelling-books, the easier and more difficult; the New Testament read at a distinct class, and earlier than the Bible class, which has lessons from the whole Scripture: besides these, there is a lesson-book, called the collection, consisting

of miscellaneous pieces from various authors; I have also seen abridged histories used as school-books.

358. Have you any extracts from the New Testament, such as the parables and the miracles?—We have often extracts of that sort in our spelling-books.

359. Do you then consider a competent knowledge of the Scriptures on the part of the population of a country, necessary to its moral well-being?—Decidedly so.

360. Have you read a Report of the Select Committee of this House, upon the subject of the education of the lower classes?—I have.

361. What observations would you make to the Committee upon the principles laid down in that Report, which, whilst it connects religious instruction essentially with the principles of national education, in order to meet the difficulties of a mixed community, leaves that religious instruction which is rendered absolutely necessary under the supervision of the respective ministers of the various denominations?—My approbation of the leading principle in that Report depends upon the construction which is given to it. "Resolved, That this Committee, with reference to the opinions above recorded, consider that no system of education can be expedient, which may be calculated to influence or disturb the peculiar tenets of any sect or denomination of Christians." If it be meant by this clause that there shall be no compulsion on Catholics to attend the Scriptural class, I quite agree with it; but if it be meant by this clause that in deference to any principle or inclination of theirs there shall be no Scriptural class open to the demand of every parent who may choose that his children may attend it, to that I would not agree, and on this matter I would hold no negotiation with any party whatever; but instituting a school on what I judge to be the best constitution for one, I would hold it forth to the free choice of all the parochial families, and I think that a Scriptural class should be the integrant and indispensable part of every such school.

362. Are the Committee then to understand that you consider the system of education would be incomplete

without the establishment of a Scriptural class in each school, but that you consider it would be inexpedient to render the attendance upon such scriptural class compulsory upon the parties?—I would not have any part of the education given at the parish school made compulsory; they should no more be compelled to attend the Bible class than to attend the reading or arithmetic class, and the Bible would of course fall to be read by the more advanced scholars. I cannot answer for what the Catholics will do, though I have a very strong opinion upon what they ought to do. If they do not attend the Scriptural reading that is going on in a school so constituted, then I think the districts which they occupy should be laid open to the influence of all that general religious activity that is now expatiating freely over the length and the breadth of Ireland. My idea of the perfection of an ecclesiastical system lies in this, that in the first instance there should be an establishment, but that establishment constantly operated upon, stimulated and kept on the alert by the zeal and activity of an energetic, active, and unconstrained dissenterism; and I have a parallel idea to this in reference to a scholastic system that there should be an apparatus of stationary schools, but if those stationary schools are not working the effect which is desirable, and which effect is, that the whole young population of the country should be leavened with Scriptural knowledge, then I say that with reference to those districts of country where this deficiency prevails, there should be free scope and encouragement given to the same sort of active and zealous exertion on the part of religious philanthropists, whether acting individually or in societies, and that in all such places there should be full and free encouragement given to the talents and the energy and the competition of private adventurers.

363. By a Scriptural class, do you mean a class meeting on ordinary school-days, and at ordinary school-hours, or would you apply that denomination to a class which met on special days fixed for that purpose?—I would greatly prefer that the Scriptural class should be

taught every day of the week; I should consider it very defective to confine the reading of the Scripture to one or two days of the week.

364. But whether upon one or more days of the week, or every day, do you still think that no compulsion ought to be used, and no regulation enforced by authority to render the attendance upon that class a *sine qua non?*—Certainly not.

365. Do you not consider that the principle of compulsion must, in a divided religious community, where part of the population are Roman Catholics, indisposed persons who might otherwise be induced to read the Scriptures from such a study?—I think it is the likeliest of all methods for limiting and preventing the spread of Scriptural education to attach any thing like compulsion to it. As I have been questioned generally with respect to the Report of the Committee, I will beg leave to say that in regard to the authorized and Douay version, the difference between them is not so great as to make it a thing of practical importance which of them should be used, though that, in point of decorum and good taste, it were better that the school Bible should be our authorized version, and that the Catholic priest would evince his wisdom and liberality by making no objection to it.

366. If an objection is made upon the ground of difference of version, do you not conceive that the permission of reading the Douay version is a greater gain than the gain that might be derived from an attempt to enforce the reading of the established version?—Were I the Protestant minister of an Irish parish, and were the alternative set before me whether it shall be the Douay version or no Scriptural reading at all, I should certainly prefer the Douay version. There is one part of this Report which perhaps I do not well understand, where it is said "That it is the opinion of this Committee that it be the invariable rule in such schools of general instruction that the scholars shall attend on Sunday at their respective places of worship, unless prevented by some sufficient excuse;" and this regulation is enforced by a subsequent one, "That it

is the business of the Board of Education to receive returns duly certified of the attendance of children at school, and of their attendance at Divine worship, and at the times appropriated to separate religious instruction;" I am doubtful of the soundness of such a regulation. It is not necessary for my argument to define in what direction the proselytism is going on, whether from Protestantism to Catholicism, or reversely; but it appears to me that the Board of Education is, upon the principles of this Report, charging itself with the duty of constraining the attendance of children at school, at their respective places of Divine worship. Now I can conceive that in the progress of light and of conviction, there may be a sort of intermediate state on the part of the population who are making the transition, and in virtue of which they perhaps cease their attendance from that which was formerly their place of worship, and have not yet begun a regular attendance upon that which may be eventually their place of worship; I think, therefore, the Board of Education would stand charged with a duty which may operate as a barrier in the way of the free circulation of light and of sentiment through the land.

367. Do you conceive that that disadvantage is sufficient to outweigh the positive advantages that might be derived from requiring attendance at Divine worship, as a principle to be enforced and connected with school education?—I certainly do think that it would, and that it were better if the Board of Education did not charge itself with any compulsory power in that matter.

368. Are you then of opinion that the whole matter of religious instruction should be limited to providing a Scriptural class in all the schools, and then leaving the course of events, the progress of knowledge, and the anxiety for religious information, to work out their own consequences?—I at present think so; although for the sake of a more full and distinct explanation on this subject, I will, with the permission of the Committee, offer a supplementary paper in addition to my oral evidence. There is another part of the Report which I feel doubtful of, where it speaks of those schools being supported from Parliamentary aid. I would certainly

prefer an establishment for the support of those schools in the way in which they are provided for in Scotland, by parochial assessment; and if I may be allowed to state, in connexion with this, a way in which you might meet, and satisfactorily meet, a very general feeling in the public mind, on account of which feeling I am a little apprehensive that Government may precipitate itself into a scheme of poor laws; I am inclined to think that there is something radically wrong in the attempt to force beneficence by law, and that it should never be made, save for such objects as might publicly and fully be provided for without detriment to society. General indigence I hold not to be an object of that kind, though I should have no objection to a compulsory tax both for the relief of what may be called institutional disease, and for the establishment of a religious education. Now I would not object to absentees being taxed in a certain proportion above the resident gentry for the objects now specified, for hospitals, churches and schools; I should be happy if such a tax would satiate the public indignation against them, for I feel strongly apprehensive lest that indignation should prompt a tax upon them for the expense of general pauperism; I feel no tenderness for them, but if such shall be the application of a tax on absenteeism, I should dread a very sore mischief to the population at large; whereas it strikes me that there would be a peculiar propriety that as they withdraw from the population of Ireland the moral influence of a residing gentry, they should pay it back in kind by contributing more largely than the other landholders of Ireland to the moral influence of a vigorous and good scholastic system. I hold that the essential principles of such a question may be as effectually studied on a small scale as on a large, just as we can study mechanics better by the inspection of a small model than by the survey of a large machine, or as the results of an experimental farm might be turned into universal principles in the science of agriculture. Now I have noticed so often in the separate parishes in Scotland, that it was the desire to punish absentees which has been the moving force that led to the establishment of compulsory

assessment, that I should be apprehensive for Ireland of the same consequences in the country at large.

369. Then the objection you have taken is rather to the evil consequences of the expenditure of the tax when raised, than any objection to the imposition of a peculiar tax upon the absentees?—I have no objection to a peculiar tax upon the absentees; any objection I have against a compulsory provision for pauperism is not to save the pockets of the wealthy, but to save the principles and the character of the poor. May I be permitted to say upon this subject, with reference to the difficulties between Catholics and Protestants, I have felt those difficulties so very conquerable by friendship and kindness, that I feel more and more impressed with the importance of a good Protestant clergy in Ireland. I think, that with good sense and correct principle on the part of the Established ministers, a right accommodation on this subject would not be difficult in any parish. I hold the Established Church of Ireland, in spite of all that has been alleged against it, to be our very best machinery for the moral and political regeneration of that country. Were it to be overthrown, I should hold it a death-blow to the best hopes of Ireland. Only it must be well manned; the machine must be rightly wrought, ere it can answer its purpose: and the more I reflect on the subject, the more I feel that the highest and dearest interests of the land are linked with the support of the Established Church, always provided that church is well patronized. I know not what the amount of the Government patronage is in the Church of Ireland, but in as far as in the exercise of that patronage, they, instead of consulting for the moral and religious good of the people, do, in the low game of party and common-place ambition, turn the church livings into the bribes of political subserviency; they, in fact, are the deadliest enemies of the Irish people, and the most deeply responsible for Ireland's miseries and Ireland's crimes.

370. You say you would not make the Scriptural class compulsory any more than the writing class, or the arithmetic class, at the same time you stated you would lay down for your school that system which you thought

essential, in which system a Scriptural class formed a part; how would you practically arrange the machinery of your system, so as to allow the attendance upon the Scripture class to be optional?—I know there are a great many classes in a Scottish school, and that in like manner, as there are many that attend the reading classes and do not attend the writing and arithmetic classes, so I can conceive it a very possible thing that scholars may attend certain reading classes and not attend others of them.

371. Are you of opinion, that the best form in which religious instruction can be given in the present state of Ireland is, the reading of the Scriptures?—I certainly am.

372. Are you of opinion that it would be advisable to introduce into the national schools a more detailed system of religious instruction in the way of comment upon the Holy Scriptures?—I should consider it as a very great movement in advance for Ireland if you can establish Scripture schools, although you do not establish any thing more detailed that would commit the different sectaries; in Scotland we are exceedingly different in that respect. The dissenters in Scotland are chiefly Presbyterian, they dissent from the church on the score of patronage, and choose their ministers by popular election; these form the great mass of our dissenters, so that our religious formularies, in fact, are subscribed to by them, and they have no objection to our national catechism, so that the difference between the sectaries and the church does not involve any embarrassment in regard to the use of the catechism of our national church.

373. Do you think that the sanction that is afforded to the principles of our religion by reading the Holy Scriptures is a matter that is indispensable to any system of education to which the public funds are in any shape appropriated?—I think the public funds should be given to no system that does not incorporate with it Scriptural reading.

374. Do you limit that answer by your former observation, with respect to compulsory Scriptural reading?—I think that Government, in the medium system which has been adopted for the education of Scotland,

has made a proper advance which the population may or may not respond to. It is well that the population have universally responded to that advance in Scotland; and, in like manner, I think, that Government makes all the advance which is incumbent upon it, if it institute schools in Ireland where a Scriptural class forms an integral and indispensable part of the system; but there should be no compulsion on the people to meet the Government but in the way themselves choose. At the same time I think that Christian philanthropists will and ought to exert themselves as much as ever for the religious benefit of Ireland, if, in point of fact, the Scriptural education is not taken by the children of the Roman Catholics.

375. Supposing there were no scholars in the school that would attend the Scriptural class, how would you go on then?—My own confidence is, that there is such a decided superiority of argument on the side of Scriptural reading, that in a free state of things, where there is a full and unimpeded circulation of sentiment, it is impossible that any class of the population can stand out long against permissive or voluntary Scriptural reading, and upon the faith of that, I do hope that Government might with all safety proceed to the institution of schools all over the land upon the principle I have ventured to recommend.

376. Do you think you would have more Scriptural readers under a permissive system than under a compulsory system, and that those who did read under the permissive system would be more likely to read with profit and spiritual advantage?—From the very outset I reckon upon a much greater number of Scripture readers under the permissive system, and much greater results from it.

377. Do you consider that the interposition of authority to compel Scripture reading, as a matter of direct obligation, has not only the tendency you have described, of indisposing persons to that course of study, but also to lower and degrade the Scriptures themselves in the minds of men?—I certainly do think so; it leads to the establishment in the minds of the people of a most hurtful association with the Scriptures.

APPENDIX, No. IV.

REFLECTIONS OF 1839, ON THE NOW PROTRACTED EXPERIENCE OF PAUPERISM IN GLASGOW—AN EXPERIENCE OF MORE THAN TWENTY YEARS, WHICH BEGAN IN 1815, AND TERMINATED IN 1837.

After having left Glasgow in 1823, I ceased by correspondence, or otherwise, to exert any influence on the management of the pauperism of St John's parish. There had been a constant disposition on the part of observers, to construe the result of our enterprise into a special skill and energy on my part—and that too when all the time, I felt I had nothing to do, and did nothing, in the matter. The applications for relief never reached me, and were all of them met by the gentlemen who had been appointed as deacons in the various districts of the parish—and that too at a trouble and time to themselves, which cost them, according to their own testimony, only from two to three hours in the month. After this, to talk of some marvellous or preternatural energy being concerned in this process, is really to disguise the true secret of our prosperity—to cast an obscuration over the true principle and philosophy of the whole subject. Even while the minister of St John's, I never meddled with the details of its pauperism; and there was no reason that I should interfere after my official connexion had terminated, and I had removed to a distant part of the country. There was every reason for the contrary; and the greatest

reason of all was, if possible, to dissipate the misconception to which I have just adverted, and to convince the public, that it required but an invincible affection for the cause to ensure its success, even though with but every-day instruments operating upon every-day materials.

We recommend to the special attention of the reader, the testimonies of Drs Macfarlane and Brown, as detailed in the evidence given by me to the House of Commons' Committee on Irish Pauperism.* They demonstrate the inherent soundness of the principles on which our system of management was founded, and amply confirm or rather, greatly exceed all our predictions of its success—seeing that, from the very outset of our undertaking, every anticipation that we ventured to utter of its final success, presupposed certain conditions which we held to be indispensable—but which, unfortunately, have not been conceded to us. It now only remains to explain the circumstances under which the parochial system of St John's parish, commenced in September, 1819, and, persevered in for eighteen years, was at length discontinued in 1837.

It will be observed from my letter to the Lord Provost,† that, while willing to enter immediately on the separate and independent management of the pauperism of St John's, I specify certain conditions, as desirable and perhaps essential, to be granted me afterwards, in order to secure the final and permanent success of the enterprise. I did not

* See No. 140th Question and Answer of my Evidence, and also No. 144.

† See No. 98 of my Evidence.

insist on these at the time, because I did not choose to multiply obstacles, and so add to the hazards of a refusal in the way of my commencement; and also felt that a certain measure of success behoved to be realized ere I could require any further concession at the hands of the Magistrates and Council, who are the Heritors of each of the city parishes. One of these conditions, it will be seen, was a law of mutual protection, between the parish of St John's and the other parishes of Glasgow. That such a law would have been for the advantage of our own parish, speaks volumes for the mildness—and so, whenever, it has been experienced, for the popularity of our system. The paupers who came in, greatly exceeded the paupers who left us. We had many more imports than exports; or, in other words, the balance was against the parish of St John's. I should have desiderated a formal application, from the Session of St John's to the Magistrates, for the establishment of a rule of mutual protection, between the parish of St John's and the other parishes of the city. The want of it subjected our own parish to a very heavy disadvantage, which must have proved discouraging to the administrators of its pauperism—who, however cheerfully they might have submitted to the burden of all that pauperism which was formed by themselves, might feel no longer responsible for the success of their own peculiar method, when, over and above, they were exposed to the addition of a pauperism formed by others without the limit of their own territory.

But this was far from the principal discouragement which stood in the way of our peculiar ad-

ministration. There was still another, under the pressure of which, the continuance of the system was scarcely to be looked for. We had succeeded, within a very short time, in relieving the fund raised by assessment, from all demands upon it for the poor of St John's. More than one-tenth of the city of Glasgow, and that the poorest of all its departments, ceased to be a burden on the Town Hospital. We drew no supplies from that institution for the behoof of our own parish—yet continued to be drawn upon as heretofore, up to our full share of the general assessment, for the poor of all the other parishes. We perhaps could not have obtained any secure exemption from this levy, but by an Act of Parliament; and accordingly, in my little work on "Eight Years' Experience," &c., I state prospectively, or as far back as 1823, that it seemed indispensable for the continuance of our system, to obtain such an act—one of the provisions of which should be, that the poorer parishes, after they had made good the maintenance of their own poor by their own collections, should be wholly exonerated from the assessment for the poor of the city at large.* It would have proved a mighty encouragement to the administrators of the poor-money in St John's, had the success of their enterprise been rewarded, by the exemption of all connected either by residence or property in that parish, from a burden which continued to weigh on the residenters and proprietors in all the other parishes. It was an immunity which they had earned, and to which they were

* See foot-note towards the end of that pamphlet.

well entitled by the service which they had performed. I claimed it for them in 1823; and, after being disappointed of this most legitimate expectation—instead of wondering that in 1837, they should at length have given way—I cannot but express both my gratitude and my surprise, that they should have persevered for fourteen years beyond this period, in their thankless and unrequited task. When examined by a Committee of the House of Commons in 1830,* I expressed my apprehension for the continuance of the system, from the want of all public sympathy and acknowledgment in its favour: and more especially from this—that after the parish had ceased to be a burden upon the rate, the rate-payers of the parish were still burdened as before with the pauperism of other parishes than their own. I have again to thank the deacons of St John's, that, for seven years after the utterance of this prediction, they still held together, notwithstanding the continuance of that heavy discouragement, which had long been the subject both of my complaints and of my fears.

As regards the result in the parish, our expectations were greatly overpassed; and here there was no disappointment. But we confess our disappointment, in regard to its effect upon the public. So long as our system was held forth only in argument, it was no more than natural that it should have been treated as a mere theory. But we did expect a different entertainment of it, after it was held forth in the demonstration of a living and practical experience. We did not lay our account with

* See No. 144 and No. 150, of my Evidence.

resistance to it in the one form, being succeeded by the listlessness and apathy of a downright indifference to it in the other. We fondly imagined, that, on passing from a dogma into a spectacle, it would have been followed up by many a resolute and well-sustained imitation. And nothing would more certainly have led to such imitation, than to have liberated that parish from an assessment, or from the expense of a compulsory pauperism, which had previously liberated itself from all dependence upon the supplies of a compulsory pauperism. But in the absence of all such countenance, and of any reward, or rather of just recompense from without —however bitterly we may regret, we cannot resent, and far less remonstrate against the determination of the agents in this very peculiar administration, at length to give up their unhonoured and unrequited agency. It is true that theirs was such an agency, as, if maintained by all, and never departed from in any single application for relief, would on the whole have kept theirs an easier task, than that of the office-bearers of pauperism in the other parishes of Glasgow. But if their labour through the year was lighter, in virtue of the much fewer calls to which they were exposed—this was an immunity which could only be upheld, at the expense of greater labour and vigilance and resolution, in the disposal of each individual call that was actually made to them. In every separate case, it were easier to give than to investigate ; and let this temptation be only yielded to in a few instances—or let but two or three administrators, out of the more than twenty concerned in the management of a large and populous parish, relax, and

that by very little, the style of procedure in their own districts; and it is quite in their power, to overbear that general fund, which can only stand its ground, and be adequate for the expense of the whole parish, by a careful and strenuous administration thereof in each distinct section of it. We therefore wonder not at the dissolution of a system, which, in the midst of that discountenance and adverse example by which it was surrounded, would have required for its continuance a unanimous agency, all alive to the importance of their joint undertaking; but who could scarcely be expected so to feel, when the lesson they had been giving forth for years was bereft of almost all its importance—not from any want of inherent soundness or worth on its own part; but from the want of interest, from not being listened to and not appreciated, on the part of those who could alone have carried it forward to general adoption. The deacons of St John's had cleared their own territory of all its compulsory pauperism; but they did not succeed in breaking that phalanx of resistance by which it was surrounded. They have finished their testimony—not willing to repeat it any more from year to year, now that they have found it so long to be like the voice of one crying in the wilderness. We were ambitious and sanguine enough to hope, that success in one parish might have led to successful imitation in other parishes; and that thus in time the moral pestilence might have been altogether banished from Glasgow and its neighbourhood. But, failing this, we never conceived it possible, that one emancipated parish, could long be upheld a singularity and a wonder,

like an oasis in the desert; but that at length abandoned by the hands which had reclaimed it, it would soon be covered over again by the same noxious weeds, and be involved in the same noxious atmosphere by which it was surrounded.

And we have no doubt that this unfortunate crisis of our system was hastened by an event, for which the system itself is in no way responsible. About four years after its commencement, there was a chapel of ease erected for the east part of St John's; and nearly half of the territory of the parish was assigned to it. The collections of that place of worship were originally destined for the pauperism of its own district; and we have no doubt, that, whether great or small, these may anywhere, by the power of the management, be made commensurate to all the general indigence of a place—if only the cases of institutional disease could be otherwise provided for. Now it is well known that this chapel, as an ecclesiastical institute, was extremely unprosperous. Its revenue, proceeding from seat-rents, turned out to be miserably beneath the outlay for stipend and the other charges of the concern. It was in these circumstances a great temptation, so to arrange the matter with the proper authorities, that the Sabbath-offerings might be applied, as in many others of our unendowed churches, to the ecclesiastical expenses of the establishment. But by this time the expenses of the pauperism were fully equal to the sum received by collection; and the transference of any part of this sum to another object, left so much of that pauperism without any other resource, than the general fund by which the excess is met

and provided for in all the other parishes of Glasgow. And thus after a separate and independent management of eighteen years, the parish of St John's, has again lapsed into the general system of Glasgow.

Yet we do hope that by this temporary evolution, permanent truth has been manifested. A lesson has been given, and given we think conclusively, on this great question. The experience earned in the actual field of this administration, that is in the parish, can never be overborne by any change of inclination in the minds of the administrators—a very few of whom, by even a slight and almost insensible relaxation within their own spheres of management, could so easily break up the whole combination; and so encroach on the fund, as to make the continuance of the system impracticable. We again appeal to the recorded findings of the deacons in their respective districts —where, in contact with the human nature of the question throughout their several populations, the real and proper difficulties of the subject, when fully and fearlessly encountered, were all with such facility disposed of. That such a system should have lasted for eighteen years, that is for two or three of the short-lived generations of Scottish pauperism, and in the midst too of failures and discouragements on every side of it, is a phenomenon charged with principle, and which ought not to be forgotten. They who have patience for the study of it, may read therein the whole philosophy of the subject. But let me in particular solicit their attention to the treasurer's account of the whole operation subjoined to these reflections. It

will be seen, that the difficulties which terminated our system did not arise from a deficiency in the proper receipts of our pauperism beneath its proper expenditure; but from the alienation in part of these receipts to other objects. In the first place, the ordinary collections for eighteen years, and these for behoof of a population the poorest in Glasgow, and which increased during this period from 8000 to upwards of 12,000, amount to £7,752: 11: 4½d., as will be found by adding the two first sums in the column of totals. In the second place the expenditure for these years in the relief of indigence, amounts to £6,595: 18: 10½d., as will be found by adding the first to the fifth disbursement in the column of totals. In other words, the revenue exceeded the expenditure by more than a thousand pounds—this surplus having been spent, and more than spent, not on pauperism but for educational and ecclesiastical objects. Those difficulties under the urgent feeling of which our system was at length terminated, would not have been experienced, had not the affairs of the deaconship been complicated with other affairs, for which the pauperism is not responsible. For no less than eighteen years, did the produce of the collections at the church doors meet the pauperism of that large population; and leave the surplus of more than a thousand pounds for other objects, connected with the scholarship and moral interests of the parish. It would have been a still fairer experiment, and with a more prosperous result, had the expense of the lunatics and other cases of instituonal disease, been provided for out of the assessment—as, on principles which we have

repeatedly expounded, there is no objection, but the contrary, to the application of a legal fund for the relief of such objects as these. But seeing that so much was done, and for such a length of time, we do hope that the lesson will not be lost; and that, as in the progress of Church Extension the subdivision of charges is carried forward, there will from our experience an *argumentum à fortiori* be drawn, for the introduction of the system into the then smaller parishes.* If in the parish of St John's, with a growing population of from eight to twelve thousand, the average expenditure for eighteen years was less than £400 annually, and would certainly have not been more than £300, had the cases of institutional disease been otherwise provided for—what an irresistible practical argument does this afford for the practicability of the system, in those new parishes which are formed under the Church Extension Scheme—whenever, in return for an endowment from the State, we shall be enabled to give up the collections for the support of the poor. Even the largest expenditure in St John's, for any single year, did not reach £50 for each thousand of the population. And we ask our inveterate opponents—whether does this furnish argument for the necessity of a compulsory provision, or does it prove how completely independent we should be of all such aid, were parishes enough subdivided, and churches enough multiplied? We never desire to see a larger parish than of 2000 inhabitants. In the proportion of

* At the conclusion of our treatises on the Establishment and Extension of National Churches, we mean to offer our views on the extension of the church as connected with the extinction of pauperism.

the maximum expenditure of St John's, for the worst year of the whole eighteen pending the currency of our experiment, the pauperism of such a parish would not cost a hundred pounds a-year. So surely in the progress of Church Extension, might the assessment be altogether superseded by the collections at the church-doors; and as we plant our successive churches, might the sore evil of a compulsory pauperism be banished piecemeal from the successive territories—till, with the completion of our scheme, it should at length be made to disappear from the whole of Scotland.

So long as recurrence to the fund by assessment is possible, a temptation still lies on both parties in this administration—first on the people to relax their providential habits, and keep up the same urgency of application for relief as heretofore; and secondly on the agents to relax the style and strenuousness of their management. It is only when a resolute will on the part of the latter, makes the interdict on the compulsory provision as firm and sure as necessity itself would make it—it is only then that we have the opportunity of verifying what the state of a parish would be, should the compulsory provision ever come to be legally and conclusively abolished. The question does not hinge upon this, whether the managers did or did not adhere to their resolution—but upon this, whether, so long as the resolution was adhered to, the comfort and habits of the people were improved or deteriorated? The number of failures in the resolution of the managers goes for nothing—if it can be proved, that, so long as there was no failure with them, there was no sensible falling off in the

state of the people under their care; but that both the system worked as easily and well (we believe more so), and that the families were under as sound and as good (we think better) an economy as before. The managers of the poor for the parish of St John's are in the best possible circumstances for observation on these points. Some of them will recollect the state of matters anterior to 1819; and they will not have forgotten their experience during the currency of the undertaking from 1819 to 1837. But, last of all, they have now entered on the reverse experience of the old system again in operation; and they can tell what the blessings are which have flowed in its train—or whether in their consciences they can say, that they witness any amelioration therefrom in the peace and contentment of the parish, or in the substantial well-being of its families. For ourselves we cannot but look on the period from 1819 to 1837, as a precious interval of light; and though the lesson then given forth was unheeded at the time, and is now withdrawn from the observation of men refusing to be schooled by it—yet the truth it told is stable and everlasting, at least as abiding as is the constitution of humanity, or as are the laws of that nature which God hath given to us. It remains an article in our creed, proclaimed to successive students, for guidance in their future parishes—that for the relief of general indigence, the charity of law ought in every instance to be displaced, to make room for the charity of principle and of spontaneous kindness.

ABSTRACT OF THE

Treasurer's Account of Receipts and Disbursements of the Funds of St John's Parish, Glasgow, as applicable to the Maintenance of the Poor, Educational Purposes, &c., from 26th Sept., 1819, till 30th Sept., 1837.

RECEIPTS.			
To Collections at Church and Chapel Doors	£7350	18	10
,, Do. at Church Doors from Evening Congregation.	401	12	6½
,, Seat Rents from Evening Congregation	469	8	4
,, Legacies and Donations	241	6	11½
,, Towns' Hospital, for the support of Poor found in the Hospital in September, 1819	461	17	10
,, Collections for Religious and Charitable Purposes, not Parochial	1994	11	4½
,, Interest on Bank Account, and from City of Glasgow	357	2	1½
,, Rent of Mortcloth	60	9	9
,, General Session Fund for Education	389	6	6
,, Collections for St John's Chapel Funds	400	7	0
,, Do. for St John's Parochial Schools	632	1	9
,, Stirling Session on Account of a Lunatic Pauper	251	10	1
,, Lockhart's Mortification for Sabbath Schools	40	12	0
,, Collection for forming New Road through College Ground	10	0	0
,, Share of Dr Bell's Legacy	39	0	0
,, Collections for Sabbath Evening Schools	77	12	8½
,, Pensioners, Allowance to their Families	287	5	10
,, Balance due to the Treasurer	229	8	½
	£13,694	11	8

DISBURSEMENTS.			
By Paupers, Lunatics, Orphans, Foundlings, Coffins, &c	£6551	17	7½
,, Religious and Charitable Purposes, not Parochial	1994	11	4½
,, Cost of Mortcloth	82	8	6
,, Precentor and Beadle for Evening Congregation, Door-keepers, Lighting, &c	634	11	3½
,, Soup Kitchen and Coals for Poor	44	1	3
,, Prizes for Parochial Schools, Stationery, &c	183	10	1
,, Salary to the Rev. Mr Irving as Assistant	400	0	0
,, Sacramental Elements for St John's Chapel and Evening Congregation	245	4	4
,, Teachers' Salaries, Education of Poor, Insurance, and Repairs on Schools	1902	19	10
,, Lent to City of Glasgow for Endowment of one Parochial School	500	0	0
,, St John's Chapel Funds	401	10	½
,, Support of a Stirling Lunatic Pauper	263	5	1
,, Sabbath Evening Schools from Lockhart's Mortification	40	12	0
,, Making New Road through College Ground	10	0	0
,, Interest	10	15	6½
,, Alterations on School for Dr Bell's System	68	17	2
,, St John's Sabbath Evening Schools	77	12	8½
,, Families of Pensioners from Allowance	282	14	10
	£13,694	11	8

Since writing the above reflections, I have received the following letter from Wm. Buchanan, Esq., in reply to Queries sent to him some weeks ago. The views given in this communication are strikingly corroborative of the opinion which I have ventured to express; and to which I may again recur in a subsequent argument on the connexion which might be established between the Extension of the Church, and the Extinction of Pauperism in Scotland.

GLASGOW, 27*th July*, 1839.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR,

When your much esteemed letter of the 11th inst. reached this, I was from home, and therefore could not answer it so soon as I could have wished. I now send an answer to your several queries.

Query 1*st.* Did the parochial system of the pauperism of St John's cease at the end of the year 1837?—The parochial system ceased at the 30th September, 1837, as you will perceive by the statement which accompanies this.

Query 2*d.* What expense on the whole was incurred for lunatics, illegitimates, families of runaway parents, &c., by extracting which from the whole expenses of the deacons' cases, I will arrive at the nett expense on the whole for ordinary indigence?—The expense for the whole period for foundlings, illegitimates, and families of runaway parents, was £702 : 6 : 9½; for lunatics, £351 : 1 : 4.

Query 3*d.* When were the collections for St John's chapel (now St Thomas' church), applied to the new purpose of providing for the ecclesiastical expenses? And did not this change operate in determining the session of St John's to give up their separate management for the poor?—The first collection which was applied to the ecclesiastical purposes of St Thomas', was on the 12th June, 1837, and they have been applied so ever since. No doubt this change did operate to a very great extent in bringing the session of St John's to the determination of giving up their separate management of the poor.

Query 4*th.* Was the proposal ever made to the Authorities that you should have a law of protection from the paupers of the other parishes in Glasgow? and more important, for the exemption of the parish of St John's from the general assessment?—The proposal was never made, as from the feeling which was known to prevail, it was considered perfectly hopeless to obtain the concurrence of the Authorities.

Query 5th. At all events were not the deacons discouraged from persevering by the want of public countenance, and by the slow progress, or none at all, of their system throughout the other parishes of Glasgow?—There is not the least doubt, that as the scheme did not receive the countenance which we all thought it well deserved, both from the Authorities and the Sessions generally, we were discouraged and did give it up. At the same time, we were all satisfied that it was a scheme quite practicable even in St John's, increased as it was in population from 8000 to 12,000 and had proved this to a demonstration after eighteen years experience.

Query 6th. Let me know what your experience was of your own limited proportion, and whether you would not have found a continuance of our system quite practicable there?—I think I have answered this above. I have never ceased to say, that if an agency was organized in each parish, even in Glasgow, for the effectual management and oversight of the poor, both for education and *ordinary* pauperism, that in a very short time there would be no necessity for a poors' house or an assessment, as collections would be made at church-doors quite adequate to all the wants of the deserving poor. And while I live, it will afford me a pleasant reflection that I have been permitted to take a share in a work such as we carried on in St John's for eighteen years, at once so very practicable and philanthropic.

We hold it a proper sequel to these remarks that we now present our reader with the latest testimony which has come to our notice, in regard to the workings of our system in St John's—that of E. C. Tufnell, Esq., an English Poor-Law Commissioner, who visited Glasgow at the end of the year 1833.

GLASGOW.

The city of Glasgow, though legally one parish, is divided, for the sake of convenience, into ten distinct parishes, each with its separate church, minister, and kirk-session. The law of settlement, however, does not apply to protect one of these districts from the influx of poor out of another, as a pauper, who has a settlement in one of the ten parishes, has a right, on removing into another, to demand immediate relief from its kirk-session, in the same way as if he had always resided within its jurisdiction. It is of importance, with respect to what follows, to note this, as it has the effect of equalizing the mode of treating the poor by the several parochial authorities, since, if any parish is harsher or kinder towards the applicants for relief than its neighbours, it is quickly remonstrated with as throwing off the burden

of supporting its poor on other parishes, or is itself overwhelmed with paupers.

The poor are supported from two sources, the church collections and the assessment; which latter is levied from all the inhabitants who are supposed to be worth £300 and upwards, according to their means and substance.

Every parish is divided into a certain number of parts, over each of which an elder presides, and to him any person in his district requiring relief applies: upon this the elder closely investigates the applicant's condition, ascertains whether he can do any and what work, whether he receives any pension or support from any society or charity, in short, every thing relating to his claims and resources; and if he is satisfied that there are grounds for giving relief, he reports the case to the kirk-session to which he belongs, which, if they see fit, order such a sum to be given as the case may require. The sum is always extremely moderate, never exceeding five shillings a-month; and if the pauper is unable to maintain himself with this assistance, he is handed over to the Town Hospital, by which institution he is henceforth supported, and his allowance from the kirk-session instantly ceases, as a pauper is never permitted to be paid from these two sources at once.

The Town Hospital is to all intents and purposes a poor-house, and would be so termed in England.

With the exception of £450 per annum from corporate bodies, the interest of £3,511 of stock, and some other small casual sources of income, it is entirely supported by the assessment, the whole amount of which is paid over, in the first instance, to the directors of the Hospital. No persons are allowed to remain within it, but such as from their age and infirmities are totally incapacitated from supporting themselves; also, those lunatics and idiots who are not sent to the asylum, are kept within its walls. Besides the inmates, there are large numbers of out-door poor supported by it, who are paid partly in meal and partly in money, and who, in the year ending August, 1831, amounted to 475 families and individuals.

The funds of the kirk-sessions arise from offerings at their respective churches, but these are seldom sufficient for the demands made on them, though they have only to pay those whose necessities are not supposed to require above five shillings a-month; they are consequently allowed to draw for the deficiency on the funds of the Town Hospital, that is, the assessment. Hence the first stage in the history of a pauper is an application through an elder to the kirk-session of his parish, by whom he receives a certain amount of relief, which is raised according to his wants till it gets to five shillings a-month; he is then, should he be unable to subsist on this, sent to the Hospital, by which he is maintained perhaps as an out-door pauper on a greater allowance, till, becoming friendless or decrepid, he is taken into the house.

Such was the state of things when Dr Chalmers began his reforms, except in one particular. The whole of the collections from all the city churches used to be paid into the hands of the general session, a body consisting of a union of all the ten kirk-sessions, and which was in the habit of distributing these collections among the several kirk-sessions, according to the applications which they respectively made on behalf of their poor. Thus, whatever the collection may have been in any parish, the poor of it were neither benefited by its size, nor injured by its smallness, as whatever sum it applied for was drawn through the general session, and paid without observation, whether the sum demanded was greater or less than its collection brought into the general fund. Hence there was no stimulus in the congregation of any church to increase their offerings on any increase of their poor, since nine other parishes would equally share in the benefit of any addition collected, and, similarly, a falling off in their donations would comparatively little affect them.

Dr Chalmers, previously to commencing his reforms in the management of the poor, took the whole of his church collections out of the general fund, so that his kirk-session might have the sole disposal of them.

When, however, this change was made in St John's parish, it drew nothing from the assessment directly, as its sessional poor, that is its poor who did not receive above five shilling a-month, only cost £225 annually, while its collections amounted to £400; consequently, by the new arrangement, £175 was withdrawn from the general support of the poor of the city. In return for this advantage, Dr Chalmers promised to send no more poor to the Hospital, but to provide for all his parochial poor within his own parish, supporting them solely by his church collections. Thus the St John's poor that were already in the Hospital would gradually die away, and not being replenished, so far as this parish was concerned, the assessment would be entirely useless, and laid on for no purpose whatever, except to support the poor of the other nine parishes.

This system has been attended with the most triumphant success for thirteen years; it is now in perfect operation, and not a doubt is expressed by its managers of its continuing to remain so. The poor which St John's had in the Hospital have diminished by deaths to four, and even the expense of maintaining these is paid for by the parish out of its collections, consequently it has to undergo the hardship of being assessed for the support of the poor, without receiving a farthing's benefit from the money so raised, as not a single pauper belonging to it is maintained by the assessment.

The chief virtue of the new system seems to consist in the closer investigation which each new case of pauperism receives, by which means the parish is prevented from being imposed on; and as it is well known by the poor that this severe scrutiny is

never omitted, attempts at imposition are less frequently practised. The laxity of the old management and utility of this investigation may be exemplified by what occurred when it was first put in practice. As all the St John's sessional poor were closely examined, it was thought unfair not to bring their out-door Hospital poor, which the old system had left, to the same scrutiny; when it was discovered that many persons were receiving relief who had no claim to it, and who were consequently instantly struck off the roll; one man was found in the receipt of a weekly allowance who had eight workmen under him. It may safely be averred, that under the present management such an instance could not possibly occur. It is right, however, to mention, that in the other Glasgow parishes a much closer attention is bestowed on each case of pauperism than formerly.

In spite, however, of this success, the lovers of the old system still oppose the new as keenly as ever; and there seems to be as much difference of opinion in Glasgow at present respecting its merits as when it was first established. Amidst these conflicting statements it would be presumptuous in a stranger to give an opinion except so far as it is drawn from facts, and these it seems are all in favour of it. In proof of this, I must request the attention of the Commission to the annexed table. The three first columns are extracted from Dr Cleland's work on the Statistics of Glasgow and Lanarkshire; the three last are from documents prepared at my request by the parochial officers of the respective parishes. The date to which these last columns have been made up is the year ending the last day of August, 1832.

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
Names of Parishes in the City of Glasgow.	Population in 1831.	Number of Servants.	Number of Irish.	Money drawn from the Assessments.	Church Collections.	Number of Sessional Poor.
				£	£	
St George's .	15,242	1,109	1,212	125	294	123
St John's . .	11,746	203	2,311	none	482	72
St Mungo's .	10,295	311	865	330	56	169
Outer High .	9,137	389	781	287	138	171
St James's . .	8,217	453	1,835	85	180	121
St Enoch's . .	7,921	567	1,057	none	351	130
Blackfriar's .	7,569	179	1,017	424	61	219
St Mary's . .	7,529	299	2,177	324	112	185
St David's . .	6,268	630	176	none	158	79
St Andrew's .	5,923	302	1,123	146	89	80

The first column contains the parishes, placed in the order of their population, the second and third are given as a test of their respective wealth and likelihood of poverty, the former of which is not inaccurately shown by the number of servants in each parish, and the latter by the number of Irish, which here, as everywhere else in this part of Scotland, form the bulk of the poorer classes. The fourth column gives the sums which each parish draws from the assessment, to make up the deficiency left by its church collection in maintaining its sessional poor.

It will be perceived that St John's is the second in population, but that it contains fewer servants than any other parish except Blackfriar's, which falls far below it in point of numbers. Hence it is by much the *poorest* parish in Glasgow.

Again, the Irish are in greater numbers here than in any other parish. Hence it has its full share of the elements of pauperism.

Proceeding to the fourth and fifth column, we find that it takes nothing from the assessment, and collects more than any other parish.

By the last column we come to the extraordinary fact, that, in spite of its population, its poverty, and its Irish, it actually has *fewer paupers* than any other parish in Glasgow; and the only one that approaches it in this respect is St David's, which contains little more than half the population of St John's.

This, however, is not all; every other parish has a considerable portion of its paupers maintained by the Hospital; St John's has only four within the walls of this institution, and these it pays for out of its collections. It is impossible to tell from the Hospital accounts to what parishes those persons it supports belong. Last year this institution maintained under its roof 420 persons, and of out-door poor 475 families and individuals; these 895 recipients of charity are referable to all the parishes except St John's, and should be distributed according to their parishes along the sixth column of the table, assigning only four to St John's, in order to show the true amount of the pauperism of each parish.

The Hospital entails on the city a considerable annual expense, which amounted last year to £7,614, raised chiefly by assessment. This assessment is levied on St John's in the same way as on the other parishes, and it is naturally felt as a great hardship by its inhabitants, that they should be compelled to support an Hospital from which they receive no benefit, that though their parish is the poorest in the city, they should be obliged to maintain not only their own paupers, but also to contribute to the support of those belonging to other and far richer parishes.

When this system was begun, it was declared by its opponents that it could not last, but it has lasted for thirteen years: that it could only exist under Dr Chalmers, but it has existed equally well under his two successors, Dr Macfarlane and Dr Brown: that in no other church so large offerings could be collected, as an undue proportion of rich attended St John's church. This, I am

assured by the residents is incorrect, and that the congregation is not richer than an average one. During Dr Chalmers's incumbency, the large amount of the collections was doubtless partly owing to his popularity, as they have since declined on the average; but by an inspection of the fifth column of the table, it will be seen that they at present far exceed what is given in any other parish. This, I have little doubt, is owing to the knowledge, which the church-goers have, that the sole dependence of the poor is on the collections. This is the case so uniformly in every parish I have visited, that it might be known, whether the poor of any place in Scotland were supported by assessment, simply by an inspection of the amount of offerings at the church door.

It has been said, that since the parishes of Glasgow are not protected against each other's poor by the law of settlement, the small number of the St John's paupers is owing to their poor being mostly driven out of the parish by the harsh treatment they receive. Before this system was commenced, so confident was the founder of it that the reverse would take place, that the poor would prefer instead of avoiding his parish on account of the different mode of treating them, that he actually stipulated, in a letter to one of the magistrates published at the time, that the law of settlement should take effect between his parish and the other parishes; in other words, that he should be protected from the influx of paupers from other parishes, which in return were to be similarly protected against his own. And so correct were his anticipations (the stipulation not having been agreed to), that in the first three years of the existence of the reformed plan, twice as many paupers came in as went out; and one of the managers assures me, that a constant preference seems given by the poor to St John's above other parishes, on account of the different way of treating them; at any rate there is no disinclination to dwell in it.

The essence of the St John's management consists in the superior system of inspection which it establishes; this is brought about by causing the applicants for aid to address themselves, in the first instance, to persons of station and character, whose sole parochial duty consists in examining into their condition, and who are always ready personally to pay a kind attention to their complaints.

This personal attention of the rich to the poor seems to be one of the most efficient modes of preventing pauperism. It is a subject of perpetual complaint that the poor do not receive the charities of the rich with gratitude. The reason of this appears to be, that the donation of a few shillings from a rich man to a poor one is no subtraction from the giver's comforts, and consequently is no proof of his interest in the other's welfare: it seems natural and reasonable that there should be some proportion preserved between the gratitude felt for a favour conferred, and the

difficulty or inconvenience that the doer of it is put to in conferring it. If the rich give their time to the poor instead of their money, they part with a commodity which the poor see is valuable to the givers, and consequently esteem the attention the more, as it implies an interest in their prosperity; and a feeling seems to be engendered in their minds of unwillingness to press on the kindness of those who thus prove themselves ready to sympathize with them in distress, and to do their utmost to relieve it. This feeling acts as a spur to the exertions of the poor; their efforts to depend on their own resources are greater, and consequently the chance of their becoming dependant on the bounty of others less.

In St John's parish this personal attendance on the poor is carried to the greatest possible extent; every application for assistance is sure to be met with patient attention, as far removed as possible from magisterial haughtiness, and instead of the continued bickerings between the overseer and the objects of relief, which frequently characterise the administration of an English parish, a friendly intercourse between rich and poor ensures to the latter a ready relief and a just appreciation of their distresses, to the former, that their bounty will not be abused, or their attentions be undervalued or unacknowledged.

The southern suburb of Glasgow, the whole of which usually passes under the name of the Gorbals, contains a population exceeding 40,000 inhabitants. Till very lately the old Scottish system of non-assessment prevailed in this district, and its good effects were displayed in a manner perhaps more remarkable than in any other part of Scotland. In 1818, a distinguished writer, after mentioning some instances in support of the position, that the real wants of the destitute may safely be left to the spontaneous efforts of private charity for their relief, speaks of this suburb in the following terms:—

"But all these minor cases of illustration are lost and forgotten in the princely example of Scottish independence held out by the Gorbals of Glasgow, a parish of which we are substantially correct as to the argument when we say, that it extends not by a single inch beyond the masonry of its work and its dwelling-houses; a parish of which we believe that it claims not a single acre of ground beyond the site that it is built upon; a parish, at all events, which has not one fraction of territorial revenue or importance attached to it, but which includes within the little sweep of its boundary, a busy and industrious population of nearly 20,000 individuals. Had it stood by itself, we confess we should not have looked on the history as in any way miraculous; but standing as it does within the walk of one minute from a great pestiferous vomitory, that sends a withering influence on every side of it upon all that is delicate or noble in the character of our Scottish population, it would be a most violent suppression of the gratitude and estimation which are felt by us, did we refuse

to acknowledge that though we had travelled for evidence over the whole length and breadth of our land, we could not have met a more wondrous or substantial testimony than the one which this parish affords. And when it is told that the average of its regular annual expenditure is a gratuitous sum of £350, and that the whole sum required for the extraordinary wants of last year was £835, which was also raised by voluntary subscription, and that among the administrators for the poor, who does not feel a desire that this stately monument of the truth may ever remain unimpaired; that, standing on the brink of a great moral contagion, it may serve as a protecting vanguard of resistance to the country in its rear, and be our proudest bulwark of defence against such an invasion as England has long been threatening, and in which, if she succeed, she will do more to destroy and to desolate our land than she ever has done or ever could do by the invasion of her arms."

The desire of the writer has not been granted; and this "stately monument of the truth" is now in process of rapid decay. Great part of the district was assessed, for the first time, in 1824, and the remainder in 1827, and already the evil of the change has become apparent. This year the assessment amounted to £1,900, which, with the collections, proclamations, and funeral donations, make the total of the poor's funds £2,180. The population, since 1818, has not quite doubled; and since, at that time, as above stated, the average annual expenditure for the poor did not exceed £350, the present cost for their relief shows an increase of more than six-fold. All the evidence that I have been able to collect from the residents goes to prove the fact, which is corroborated by so many other examples, respecting the baneful influence of assessments on the morals and numbers of the poor. The reluctance to apply for parochial charity has greatly diminished; pride and independence of spirit is fast vanishing; and the general morality perceptibly on the decline. Since, in the short time that has elapsed subsequently to the first laying on of the assessment, the poor expenditure has increased with the extraordinary rapidity as above stated, it may be predicted, that if a change is not quickly made in the method of management, containing, as it does, in the vast numbers of its humble inhabitants, all the elements fitted to provoke the evil, it will become one of the worst-conditioned parishes in this part of the kingdom; and this "princely example of Scottish independence" be turned into a receptacle of pauperism, misery, and vice.

END OF VOLUME SIXTEENTH.

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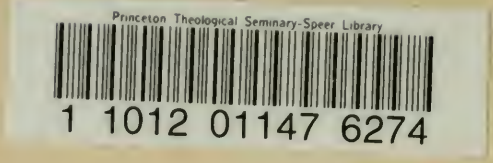
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